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ABSTRACT

This manual provides analyses of issues on and examples of programs relevant to contemporary school crises. Five authors comment on (1) the administrator's dilemma in school disruptions; (2) a case study of school disruption and the responses of two school administrators; (3) three major clusters of issues relevant to the state of American secondary education -- racism, organizational structures and processes, and professionalism and accountability; and (4) some alternative administrative roles culled from prior discussions. In each chapter, the authors provide an analysis of key issues and describe a series of steps that can be taken to improve current school situations. The action plans suggested are taken from actual or modified versions of plans attempted in various schools throughout the nation. Related documents are EA 004 668 and EA 004 670. (Author/JF)

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RESOURCES FOR SOCIAL CHANGE II:
A Guide for School Administrators

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1972

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When the School Was Closed Down
Were They
Trying to Tell
Us Something?

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Resources for School Change I: A Manual of Issues and Programs in Training Educational Change

Resources for School Change III: A Manual on Issues and Strategies in Resource Utilization

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Table of Contents

Chapter		Page
I.	Introduction	1
II.	A Case History of School Disruption and Action Planning	5
	A Case History of Disruption	5
	Administrator X's Response	7
	Administrator Y's Response	10
	Planning Action	14
III.	Racism in the Schools	17
	Institutional Racism	17
	Individual Racism	20
	Action Steps Consistent With These Analyses	22
IV.	Organizational Structures and Processes	33
	An Ideology of Over-Control	34
	School Rules and Discipline	36
	School Decision-Making Structures	38
	Trust	40
	Action Steps Consistent With These Analyses	41
V.	Professionalism and Accountability	50
	The Professional Political System	50
	Professionalism and Accountability	53
	Action Steps Consistent With These Analyses	56
VI.	Conclusions	64
	Alternative Administrative Roles	64
	Some Risks and Hazards of Change Postures	67
	A Case of School Disruption Continued	69
	Administrator Z's Response	69
Selected References		74

"The school is where the action is taking place. That's where it's at. It seems to me that this is one place where we do have an opportunity. Here we do have these bodies to be able to do something about the way people relate, one to another, black and white, or young to old, or whatever it happens to be. This is a viable goal for us in education."

From an address by a socially concerned administrator

I. Introduction

The role of the secondary school administrator is analagous to a captain trying desperately to keep his ship afloat while being buffeted by gusting winds from all points on the compass. As a nominal if not actual leader of educational activities, the administrator generally is considered responsible for whatever goes on in school. Thus, he must interact with and respond to a wide variety of people and agencies. It is a hard job, one full of as many frustrations as satisfactions, as much pessimism as hope. At the present time it is a role under great pressure from many sources.

From outside the school the administrator is pressured by varied community groups--economic, social or racial in nature--and by their demands for communication, access and accountability. Further, he is pressured by the standards and requirements of accrediting agencies, local industry and college entrance boards. Mass media representatives often amalgamate and escalate these forces in their own search for news.

Within the school the administrator is faced with developing the organizational supports for a high quality education, reflected in issues of curriculum, staffing, and student and teacher discipline. Maintenance and clerical personnel, as well as the needs of the physical plant, materials and supplies add to this load. The overall administrative structure demands business as usual in the face of countless unresolved problems, provides no time for planning, lacks control over budget, and adds restrictions emanating from tenure laws and employee contracts. In his relations with colleagues and staff the administrator often is faced with minimal peer and supervisory support, faculty pressures to run a "tight ship," collective bargaining demands, and the need for good relationships with students.

In addition, every administrator is faced with problems generated by his own values and priorities, his own skills and the pressures of his own personal and family situation. Some of the forces within the individual that may inhibit effective resolution of these pressures and conflicts include: difficulties in being interpersonally sensitive

to others, inability to delegate authority to anyone, lack of organizational skills, intellectual stagnation and fear of failure or lack of courage.

No one person can be expected to handle the myriad of pressures and forces herein described. No one person can be a master at the resolution of these forces in a single institution or program. Perhaps in many ways the role is simply too big and broad, and perhaps we expect far too much from administrators. But these are their stated tasks, and unless an administrator sets priorities that respond to the most potent of these, he and his schools are in trouble. For when these pressures and conflicts reach escalated proportions, the school situation often deterioriates into one of crisis exemplified by student protests, disruption and excessive vandalism or teacher strikes. Closing the schools results in an immediate threat to the competence and security of the administrator and the education of the students.

"When the School Was Closed Down, Were They Trying to Tell Us Something?" In this manual we try to respond to that question, and to suggest analyses of issues and examples of programs relevant to contemporary school crises. We have chosen to discuss several issues common across many settings of secondary school crisis. We have excluded areas that deal with plant, equipment, budgeting, teacher negotiation and many others, and have selected areas that meet the following criteria: 1) They are fundamental to and underlie many of the symptoms expressed in school disruption. For example, we have chosen to deal with racism as a fundamental issue that may underlie minority students failure or protest and fights between groups of students of differing racial backgrounds. 2) They are within the partial control of the school administration. For example, a school administrator generally has little or no control over the local job market but he does have some control over the match between the skills required by his student body and the school curriculum. Thus curriculum change is an appropriate topic.

The issues and programs discussed here are important if administrators are to take leadership in moving schools to be more just and higher quality institutions. This cannot be done by ad hoc and momentary reactions to crisis after crisis. It can be done only with a longer

range perspective, one that fits necessary and immediate responses to longer range visions and ideas regarding how education must be altered to be more effective for all students. As stated by one secondary school principal,

> *I guess one of the problems is that I see no blueprint here. There is nothing that is a basis for all the kinds of things that we are going to be developing strategies for. What is our underlying philosophy? What do we want as educators to do? Regardless of the crisis this would be a thread that keeps running through our work and could give us some continuity. And if we have established this as a thread, then we have guidance for meeting crises, for evolving plans, long range and short term, as the case may be.*

Alluded to in this statement is one prototype of the harried administrator who sees as his major task keeping the ship afloat in the face of constant pressures from all directions. His ship sails in the direction dictated by the strongest wind. A second type of administrator is one who is determined to reach his destination without taking into account any of the pressures other than those within himself. He sets his course--but if there is no supportive wind his ship may be stalled or even overturned completely by a sudden gust. The third type of administrator knows where he wants to go and why. He can utilize both water currents and supportive winds to help him successfully navigate the course he has set. A strong gust from one direction does not upend his boat because he has sufficient slack to accommodate and use it.

This manual is addressed primarily to school administrators because of the strong potential they have to reform public education. The authority, the functions and the stakes that go with the administrator's role all are crucial in setting the tone and character of the school and school system. Given a perspective on some of the underlying causes of our educational problems, some alternative strategies for change that respond to these issues, and information about additional relevant resources, administrators can do much to make a difference.

In Chapter II we present a case study of school disruption, and examine the responses of two school administrators. Chapters III, IV and V explore three major clusters of issues relevant to the state of American secondary education: Racism, Organizational Structures and Pro-

cesses, and Professionalism and Accountability. In each chapter we provide an analysis of key issues and a series of steps and concrete illustrations of actions that can be taken to improve current school situations. In Chapter VI we discuss some alternative administrative roles culled from prior discussions. With this in hand, we then return to the original case study and examine a third administrator's responses.

This manual is designed to stimulate the reader to look at current crises as opportunities to analyze the issues and his own position, to evaluate the risks, payoffs and his commitment in any contemplated action plan that responds to those issues, and then to chart his course. The action plans suggested herein are taken from actual or modified versions of plans attempted in various schools throughout the nation. They represent real efforts, not imaginary versions of what might be done in an ideal world. How and whether they appeal to the reader is another matter, a matter to be decided on the basis of his values and goals, situational constraints and supports, personal risk and skill levels, and imagination in investing for change.

"The very goals and assumptions which I might have and which others might share could go right down the tube, depending on how I respond to a conflictual situation. Avoiding that tragedy demands of me a kind of soul-searching of my own modes of responding."

Musings of an administrator reflecting on his own capacity and that of his staff's to deal with conflict.

"If students or parents could be convinced that the administration <u>really</u> wants the school to change and will work towards making the school better for students, then some collaboration might occur. In order to gain trust the administration must, at very least, convince students or parents that he is concerned about the pain they are feeling. This can be difficult when his anger makes him want to attack back rather than to listen. Retaining sufficient control to act with obvious concern for the best interests of his school and the students is a difficult task, but an important one for the generation of trust."

An administrator reflecting on the essential presence of trust in any confrontation with students or parents, if collaboration is to follow.

"Ive always tried to immediately establish communication with the organized and unorganized factions in the school. One of my students was so carried away with this that on his own he started calling up some of his friends at different high schools and saying, 'Why don't you have a student advisory council like we do?' And he started sending out letters to various schools. 'Please send a representative and alternate, and we're going to have a meeting.' And the principals started calling me; 'What are you trying to do?' At first I didn't know what they were talking about but it finally got through to me."

From an innovative administrator encountering peer sanctions.

II. A Case History of Disruption and Action Planning

In this chapter we describe a hypothetical situation of school disruption and the diagnoses and action plans developed by several administrators to respond to this situation. The problems represented in this case presentation have mutliple solutions, each with a different set of immediate and long range consequences. The action plan which an administrator decides to use is based on several factors: his analysis of the situation; the resources he can mobilize; the nature of the system he is in; the relevant values he holds; the risks he is willing to take; and the time and energy he is willing to invest in effecting changes as opposed to maintaining the status quo. The two administrators described in this chapter differ in varying degrees on these dimensions, and so do their respective responses to disruption. Although this case and the administrators' reactions are hypothetical, the details are drawn from real schools and from real administrators.

A Case History of Disruption

The following series of incidents occurred in a high school in a mid-western city with a population of approximately one hundred and fifty thousand. The high school officially had been desegregated for about 6 years. Approximately 8% of the student body of 2,400 were black. There were 4 black teachers and 1 black counselor on the professional staff of 129 persons. The city's major industries were its large university and a series of plants and factories on the edge of the city and in nearby towns. For the most part, the white students were from middle and upper middle class homes, whose parents were employed by the university, local businesses, and some few by industry. The black students were largely from lower socio-economic class families where the parents were employed by the surrounding industries. A very few of the black parents were school teachers or academic employees at the university, and even fewer were employed by local businesses. There was substantial unemployment in the black community.

The series of incidents occurring over a few days time which finally resulted in school disruption and closing were:

1-no black candidates were selected by the faculty committee to be cheerleaders.

2-three black students and two white students were caught fighting on the school grounds. Two of the black students were suspended while the other black student and the two whites were sent to the counseling office for extended sessions.

3-the Black Student Union called for a meeting of all black students to take place in the school cafeteria during afternoon classes.

4-while the meeting was in session the principal announced over the loudspeaker that all students not back in their classes in 15 minutes would be suspended.

5-the black students in the cafeteria sent the principal a note to come and meet with them. This occurred before the 15 minute time limit was up.

6-sixty black students continued their meeting in the cafeteria for an hour and a half and drew up a list of demands. About 50 white students walked out of classes in support of the continuing meeting.

7-the next morning several black community leaders were linked to the school situation and called "troublemakers" in the local newspapers.

8-at noon the next day the situation erupted. About 30 black students began "trashing." They disrupted the cafeteria, the science lab, the library, and broke many windows. The immediate estimate of damage was about a thousand dollars. There was no fighting between black and white students. Many white students stood by and watched; some left the school and others remained in their classrooms.

9-the city police were called, along with the county sheriff and a number of his deputies armed with guns, clubs, tear gas and dogs.

10-twenty black students and one black school counselor were arrested.

11-several black agencies held an emergency meeting that night and called for a boycott of the school. A temporary school was set up in the community by black parents "until the public school system is made safe for our children, and non-racist in its treatment of them."

12-the administration announced that the school would be closed for one day to "prevent further violence" and "permit us to talk things through."

Administrator X's Response (principal)

Diagnosis.

Outside agitators in town are stirring up trouble amongst our Negro students. Some students have reported that these radicals have been around for two weeks, carrying the Black Panther newspapers and advocating revolution. Evidently, they found a ready forum in a few colored troublemakers in this school who stirred up the students to riot. There is a general unruliness among some of the Negro students, but thankfully they remain a minority in this school. If the troublemakers can be gotten under control, through ignoring or suspending them, then things will quiet down here. A few teachers in my school, especially the Negro counselor, have supported this angry minority and are partially responsible for accelerating the tension and provoking the riot. If it were not for them and for Negro parents who do nothing but berate the school system, the rioting Negro students would have had no adult support.

I stand by the decision I made to ban Black Student Union meetings during school hours. It's unfortunate that the whole thing spread like that, but my decision was not responsible for that. It was those kids and their cohorts who took advantage of a perfectly reasonable position on my part to create a major blow-up. Furthermore, I support my vice principal's decision to suspend the two students who were fighting. They are always giving us trouble and an example had to be made. It's really too bad that the Negroes saw this as discriminatory discipline, but someone can always find some excuse to blast us.

Action Plan.

Bring in more security guards, expel key leaders, punish by suspension as many active supporters as possible. Publically reprimand any faculty support of dissenting students. Make strong public statements regarding the hoodlum element, outsiders and agitators; and identify the active minority of students as troublemakers and the majority as peaceful and law abiding. This should assure parents and community that the school is not racist, that the problems people are talking about are not so bad, and that school will be safe for all students through a host of security measures. Doors will be locked so that students stay in the building and outsiders out. Any fighting between students or between students and staff will result in immediate suspension. Halls will be patrolled by specially trained hall monitors and the city police will maintain several men in civilian dress in the school for student protection.

Analysis of Administrator X's Response.

ITEM: Outside agitators in town are stirring up trouble.

In some cases school disruption may be catalyzed by persons who are not a normal part of the school-community system. However, attributing disruption to the activities of outsiders is often used to draw attention away from underlying issues. It also can indicate an unwillingness to examine the school or system as a source of some of the problems.

ITEM: If the troublemakers can be gotten under control.

This administrator's top priority obviously is to re-establish control over the situation. He appears to be opposed to analyzing the situation differently and to considering alternative responses to the perceived issues. It also is clear that administrator X does not perceive himself as influencable by students and parents regarding the quality of education for which he is responsible. Rather, he will eradicate protest and efforts at alterations of the system. This approach is a manifestation of institutional racism, in that white authorities control minority groups' futures by deciding for them what is in their best interests.

ITEM: I support my vice-principal's decision to suspend the two students.

Suspension can serve as a scapegoating strategy in that it places blame on a few students who are then removed from the school on the false assumption that the problems will disappear with them. Often suspended students are those who can profit most from being in school and who may suffer most from being locked out. The racism of this position is clear, in that the original decision being supported was apparently seen by some as discriminatory, yet nothing is to be done either to alter the perception or to correct the discrimination.

ITEM: Publicly reprimand any faculty support of dissenting students.

The assumption here is that faculty are accountable to those who are their administrative supervisors and not to the students they serve. One of the hallmarks of the professional is that he is supposed to be accountable primarily to his client group, but in practice the bureaucratic hierarchy takes precedence.

Consequences of These Responses to Administrator X and the School.

The problems underlying the symptoms of disruption have not been addressed and control measures cannot do away with them. Thus they are likely to flare up continuously in a variety of ways, thereby keeping the system in a constant state of crisis. As one student recently noted:

> *"We have been trying for the past two years to get a proper hearing in this school but they never listen--they call in the cops instead. But this don't stop us. Sooner or later we'll close this school down because we can do it, you know. We can make this place so darn miserable nobody will be able to live in it."*

The principal has demonstrated to the black community his lack of accountability to them and can now expect hostility and non-support from them. If this community were ever to become influential in the school his position would be in extreme jeopardy.

Some, maybe many, students probably will lose more trust in the ability of the system to respond to their needs and in their ability to influence matters. One result may be for them to become more alienated from school, as reflected in increases in the rate of school failure and dropouts, as well as in disruptions.

The principal probably will receive support from some superiors in the system, from some peers, and from those in the community who believe in the priority of adult control and an obedient student body. Whether the majority of white parents will support the principal's actions is unclear, but recent experience suggests they probably will. Only a few parents would protest the obvious racism and continued control of students.

For the reader:

What other consequences might result from Administrator X's behavior? How might the faculty react? What about different portions of the faculty? What do you expect would be the police chief's preferences? Do you see any of yourself in these assumptions and reactions?

Administrator Y's Response (principal)

Diagnosis.

Outsiders may be stirring up a lot of this trouble, but the black students in this town do have much reason for anger. Some white students are identifying with them, those activists who are turned off by "the system," and they too have their reasons for disenchantment. Many black parents have been angry for a long time, but they don't seem to understand that it does take time to implement the Human Relations Program that was passed by the Board last year.

It may have been a wrong move on my part to have ordered all students back to their room during the Black Student Union meeting, but if I gave them the right to meet for emergency sessions during school time I would have to give this right to everyone, and then where would we be? Nonetheless, the aftermath of my decision certainly was more disastrous than I would have anticipated. I guess I should have met with the students in the cafeteria as they requested. At least that would have made them feel that they could talk to me and that I would listen. After all, I do believe in being accessible to all students, but my hands are frequently tied and I can't follow through on the concessions they keep demanding of me.

I feel the vice-principal was in error in suspending those black youngsters without consulting with me, but I must stand by my staff, even though it appears as if he engaged in discriminatory discipline. Of course I know him well enough to know he intended no such thing. I also am somewhat upset that some of my staff sided with the dissenting black kids, but I recognize their position. Someone has to push for the kids, but in my position it can't be me.

I hope the black community will understand and appreciate my position, even as I hope they understand that I also appreciate their's in starting the Freedom School. A little cooperation on both our parts is needed and I am sure we can reconcile our differences and get kids back into school again. Certainly we want no more police action here. I also don't want a heavy white backlash that gets a lot of white parents pushing me to come down harder on these kids.

Action Plan.

Assure the black community that their position is understood and that we will try our best to rectify things. Indicate, however, that this will take time and that the Freedom School cannot be legitimized beyond the protest stage of these few days--the boycott must end. Assure the student body that I sympathize with all of their varied complaints, and that an Advisory Committee of students will be established to advise the faculty and administration on the curricula and policies they would like to

see put into place. Promise to hire more black staff when they can be located. Set up an Advisory Committee of black parents to advise the staff of changes they would like to see happen. Set up a Human Relations Training Program for any students, teachers and community members who volunteer for it--to be conducted on Saturday mornings rather than during school hours. Emphasize personal racial awareness in this program. Do not lock the building to outsiders, but encourage parents, especially black parents, to come in as hall monitors in order to ensure that discipline is maintained and riots averted. Promise a black history course for next term and also some limited school meeting times for the Black Student Union as well as any other student groups that are formed. The only restriction is that their advisors must be present and that they remain on schedule; emergency unscheduled meetings will not be permitted.

Analysis of Administrator Y's Response.

ITEM: Someone has to push for the kids, but in my position it can't be me.

Very often it is strategic for an administrator to have persons or groups other than himself advocate for students if he is committed to using their push for leverage on the Board and Central Administration. However, a passive stance is noted in Administrator Y's attitude, one in which he allows his faculty to take the risks for students but will do very little himself to support them or the students. His crucial position in this matter can make or break their attempts, and in this case they are likely to be broken.

ITEM: I guess I should have met with the students... that would have made them feel that they could talk with me and that I would listen.

Students are becoming increasingly sophisticated about administrative responses to their grievances and protests. They have learned that administrators do try and make them feel they are listening when they are not. They also have learned that listening often is a way to delay or avoid providing changes and cooling out protest.

ITEM: I do believe in being accessible to all students, but my hands are frequently tied.

All administrators have certain constraints on their actions, but this often becomes an excuse for inaction. Administrators are seldom as impotent as they feel they are or as they try to appear. However, within the limits of an administrator's authority there are many reformist actions he can take. For example, in this situation, he could use the student protest as leverage with higher authorities to achieve some needed changes.

ITEM: I must stand by my staff (i.e., vice principal), even though it appears as if he engaged in discriminatory discipline.

The dilemma posed here is that of priorities, i.e., uncritical support of staff vs. condemnation of apparently discriminatory behavior. The administrator who chooses the former supports the maintenance of institutional patterns of racism, and runs the risk of losing his credibility with students and community. The choice of the latter may erode staff confidence. Regardless of the assistant principal's intentions or attitudes, it is his behavior people are concerned with--it is on that basis racism is or is not identified.

ITEM: I hope the black community will understand and appreciate my position.

Anyone who wants understanding is going to have to go out and create it. Moreover, a demonstration through action is the only behavior that any community should appreciate or understand; mere rhetoric is not helpful to blacks or whites. In this case the black community is likely to appreciate only those administrative behaviors which demonstrate a concern for reducing racism in the school. This administrator also uses his fear of a white backlash to explain his unwillingness to deal directly with the hard issues. Regardless of the logic, this stance rewards white power to the detriment of justice for the minority community and students.

ITEM: Encourage... black parents to come in as hall monitors to ensure that discipline is maintained.

This action step reveals an assumption, made by many administrators, that school disruption is caused by black students. It also suggests

they must be contained. Apparently parental hall monitoring is seen as an asset to the school. This would not be the case if parents bring their community conflicts into the school, thus exacerbating those which already exist. Moreover, close monitoring will not ensure new interracial patterns or better discipline, only more emphatic control.

Consequences of These Responses to Administrator Y and the School.

Administrator Y's middle of the road position is not likely to lead to meaningful change. However, because it raises the expectations for change in students and community, it may increase their disillusionment and anger if no change is forthcoming in the long run. Moreover, his series of "Promises" can create a problem if he doesn't deliver, for his credibility is at stake.

Administrator Y's appeal to both the dissident community (setting up citizen advisory boards) and to the law and order community (restricting unscheduled student meetings) may win him points from both sides, at least temporarily. That is, he may be rewarded for maintaining control and also for his apparent sensitivity to the major issues.

Increasingly, students and community members are finding that they have little impact in advisory roles and they are working towards actual control of their own schools. Administrator Y is likely to reinforce unwittingly this demand for student or community control, especially if he is pushed to allow some genuine influence by the Black Advisory Committee and the Black Student Union.

To the Reader:

What other consequences might result from Administrator Y's behavior? How is the faculty, or various portions of the faculty, likely to react? Will he be able to hire black faculty, given his present perspective on locating them? How does Administrator Y's position of racism differ from Administrator X's? How would you expect the police chief to react to this principal? Do you see aspects of yourself in any of the assumptions and reactions?

Planning Action

The case history presentation illustrates some major issues we have found to be critical to the development and constructive resolution of secondary school crises. These issues include:

- Racism in the schools
- Organizational structure and processes
- Professionalism and accountability

Each of the chapters that follow consists of an analysis of one of these issues and recommended action plans that represent alternative responses to that issue. These alternatives are meant to be illustrative and suggestive but by no means exhaustive.

In reading these materials we suggest the reader assess the relevance of these analyses and plans in the following terms:

1. What are the groups and individuals affected by the proposed diagnosis or action plan?
   - -In the school--differing groups of students and teachers, supervisors, custodial and clerical personnel and facilities, curriculum...
   - -Outside the school--community groups, board of education, mass media, accrediting agencies...
   - -Within oneself--values, courage, skills, family pressures, career goals...
2. What are the positions and action potentials of these groups or individuals?
   - -Ones which would facilitate implementation of an action plan...
   - -Ones which would impede or prevent implementation of an action plan...
   - -Consequences of an action plan for a group...
3. What is the "fit" between the analysis and your perception of the situation? What is the "fit" between the action plan and your values and goals?
   - -The connections between situational values and goals and personal knowledge and skills to carry off an action...
   - -Private or public nature of deeply held educational values...
   - -Degree of consonance between personal values and goals and those of any organized group...

4. What are the resources--beyond yourself--needed for effective implementation of an action plan selected?

   -Organized political pressures from groups in the school or community...

   -Money, materials, released time, publicity, and the like...

   -Specially trained manpower--consultants--from within or without the system...

   -Allies you can build...

5. What are the steps in actually implementing an action plan?

   -Mobilizing the resources needed...

   -Testing out the new procedures before full scale use--insuring a successful test...

   -Providing plenty of emotional, technical and political support to those trying it out...

   -Giving it time to work its way against the traditions of the past...

6. How is the process of change or recycling action planning continued?

   -Continual assessment of the plans implemented...

   -Modification of the action plans as bugs are discovered or as the situation changes...

   -Implement a new plan...

There is no such thing as a value-neutral education or value-neutral change. The administrator's personal values and ideology is a prime factor in any position taken in the course of his duties and in the manner in which he functions. It is important for him to know where he stands, what his values are, just as it is inevitable that students, colleagues, subordinates and superordinates and community will want to know where he stands.

Any attempt at meaningful school change can be expected to challenge or reflect one's own values and goals and those of others. Thus, one can expect to meet with resistance from those who prefer or who benefit from the status quo. To the extent that resistors have access to power they can make life difficult for the administrator involved in change. Thus, it is important to assess accurately the risks involved in any concrete action program. It is also important to build allies and a support group. The care and feeding of high risk administrators

is not merely a matter of maintaining personal commitments, but of building a support system so that persons on the political frontier of school change can check with each other, accept one another, and give one another strength to endure. What is vital is that the administrator be aware of his own position and of its full political consequences--he owes this much to himself as well as to his colleagues and clients.

In addition to the determination of probable risk, an administrator may wish to engage in change-oriented behavior that can test the risks and the program on a small scale. For example, he may invite student, community and faculty representatives to join him in decision-making on a limited scale before he innovates a formal representative school governance body. In so doing he can assess the potential effectiveness and limitations of such a body, as well as the willingness of the Central Administration to accept shared decisions from the school. He can also assess his own willingness and capacity to share power with others and to take abuse from those who do not agree with his actions. Such limited testing can help the administrator make an accurate assessment about the internal and external pressures and risks with which he must cope; it also can pinpoint for him where he can expect to win support for his change actions.

In order to ensure that the change process simply does not stop after one change, it is necessary to institute or monitor a continuing change system that feeds on itself. This continual attention to improving the system becomes a matter of habit, and so does the continuing confrontation among educators and students or community persons over the appropriate means and ends of public education. With this dialogue there is some hope for reform, and for an educational system that better satisfies those it hopes to serve. Without such interaction, the system continues to be controlled by the few for the many. And the few, however well intentioned, are always alien to the many.

"The discipline procedures are wrong. They'll punish the Negroes greatly and let the white man get away with everything. And that's not right. Now, a Negro will come into class, and he comes late, he gets an after-school appointment. And when the white boy comes into class and don't get one, then that's not right...."

A black student's comments on racism in the school.

"I have seen more articulate, verbal Negroes who have not finished high school in the last four years, than I have seen verbal, articulate Negroes in high schools, and I've been all over the country. I've also seen them doing some significant work for themselves. They are doing it outside the school, they are attacking the school. They have this potential. You've got some articulate high school girls and boys now who can organize political campaigns, and they can't use them in the high school. They're dropouts. They're flunkouts. They're neglected in the high school."

A black educator's comments on institutional racism in school.

"Like if I went to fighting him, as a means to accomplish something, it wouldn't be because of prejudice; not because I don't like him because he's white, not because I don't want to go to school with white people or anything like that. It's just that I can't go directly to the Principal. If I were to speak to <u>him</u>, why I'd be turned around before I ever reached his office. And the same with the other groups, and the same with the white boys, so my <u>only means is to cause trouble</u>. And I can only do that by fighting and then I can get to talk to him. Not I, personally, but as a group of blacks."

Reflections by a black student on the use of disruptive power to gain recognition and a hearing from the principal.

III. Racism in the Schools

Schools not only reflect the dominant cultural values of the society, they are created to pass on this heritage to succeeding generations. Thus, it is no surprise to find patterns of racism rampant in our public educational system. If the society is racist, then schools within that society can be expected to be racist as well. In addition, the structures and processes of education operate in ways that confirm and create additional racism in the minds and actions of students. In this chapter we seek to explore several different meanings and examples of racism in the schools, and to suggest some action plans that may counter or reduce the degree of social injustice so entailed.

Institutional Racism

Patterns of institutional racism refer to those practices, policies or programs that are not necessarily due to the behavior of any individual. Moreover, they do not have to be intentional to be so classified. Rather, they are part of the normal everyday activities of an institution set up and operating along certain lines. Organizations can be said to be practicing institutional racism when they: (1) are controlled and dominated by whites; (2) are developed by and function to the advantage of whites and to the disadvantages of blacks and browns. This disadvantage to minorities may be as obvious as lesser economic and political rewards, or it may be more subtle as in the cultural guides for evaluating skills, making life-style choices, and relating to the larger society. Thus, most institutional racism is located in the ongoing practices of social institutions, in their "business as usual " practices which maintain unequal access to key rewards and privileges.

Naturally it takes power to make and enforce policy choices, or to distribute rewards and determine the basis for access to resources. Thus, a necessary component of institutional racism is power--power to make the choice and enforce the pattern of white privilege and black or brown disadvantage, white "standards" and black or brown "deviance," white "health" or "adjustment" and black or brown "pathology." In fact, it

involves the power to see the failure of the white school in the minority community not as a white failure, but as a result of the inadequacy of the minority group.

School financing procedures based on local property taxes represent one example of institutional racism, one that perpetuates inequitable educational opportunities. Twice as much money may be spent to educate some white suburban students as may be spent on minority students in urban ghettos. Even in the same system, monies generally are not distributed equally across schools.

Hiring practices that create conditions whereby largely black student bodies are taught by predominantly white staffs represent another example. Where is personal fault in this case? Is it with the hirer? Surely he can claim there are very few "qualified" teachers he sees coming from the University. Surely the University can claim few "qualified" black applicants for their programs. What we have here is a spate of individual choices, choices adding to and stemming from a set of institutional patterns of school success, career choice or guidance, university attendance, teacher training, job selection and hiring. At each step of the way whites are screened in for higher level opportunities and blacks and browns are screened out.

The lack of adequate numbers of minority staff completes the above cycle another time: it demonstrates to minority students the degree of white control of schools and the difficulties members of their own race have in gaining access to positions of higher status and reward. It is no wonder that several recent research reports indicate that the state of racial crisis is highest in interracial schools with the greatest disparity between the percentage of black faculty and the percentage of black students.

In a similar vein, the patterns of advancement within the educational system are especially difficult for members of minority groups. Where they are on a staff they seldom are likely to be in key administrative roles or utilized as department heads. Even now, when there is a strong political press for token minority advancement, blacks and browns frequently are hired according to white judgments rather than the inputs or values of minority students and parents. The reason for this,

of course, is that they usually are hired to connect with and control minority students, not to re-adjust the system to accomodate minority needs. This pattern occasionally results in a rejection of minority staff by minority students and community, since they are seen as representatives of white power rather than as advocates of other minority group members.

Curriculum organization and content, like school staffing, reflects the dominant white culture in most schools, and is thus another manifestation of institutional racism. Only token recognition of minorities and minority culture has been programmed into most school curricula. Where there are such programs, they often are administered under white control once again. Only in a few instances do curricular programs focus on the realities of racist oppression and injustice in these United States, and thus few whites grow up understanding this aspect of the American heritage.

Curricular tracking programs ostensibly serve to locate students where they can be provided with the most individually oriented instruction. In reality, they serve to segregate students by race and class, and provide for radically unequal educational opportunity and outcome within a physically desegregated environment. Thus even students with great potential are shunted off, never to develop that potential as they are locked in with sets of professional assumptions about their competencies, skills, etc. In many cases these assumptions and tracking systems are not announced, and operate informally within the minds of the school's faculty. Then students do not even know on what basis they have been treated differently.

The wholesale effect of these subtle institutional patterns is that many minority students give up on academic achievement, or drop out psychologically if not physically. Others conform to the expectations set for their behavior, producing apparently inadequate and incompetent results because that is what their teachers indicate they expect of them.

Unfortunately, many black schools have emulated the white model, and also program a disproportionate number of their students into the society's bottom track. Under these conditions it matters little whether

schools are white or black led, because even with black leadership they are white controlled. This can be avoided only when school personnel, students and communities have developed a conceptual understanding of the nature of institutional racism, its manifestation in structures and policies, and alternative forms of institutional life which are more equitable and democratic for all participants.

Within this political and intellectual lockstep, it is no wonder that politicized minorities have targeted their efforts on educational institutions, the very pervaders of the myths of social inadequacy and the standard bearers of cultural acceptability. The struggle often has been bitter. Black students who have engaged in the search for cultural or political identity in school often have been seen by liberal whites as separatist and hostile. These two concepts are not necessarily linked, but either pejorative denies the black or brown minority the right to organize for ethnic identity and collective expression. As a result, there has been tremendous polarization between blacks and browns and whites, schools and communities, professionals and non-professionals. As long as institutional racism goes unchecked in our schools, the struggle is likely to be maintained. Whites, who benefit from the elevated position racism affords them, are not likely to take the lead in changing the system. In fact, institutional racism cannot be eliminated until minority groups take control of their schools in order to hire or train their own staffs, control educational resources, and shape their own programs in ways that speak to the culture, life style and aspirations of their own communities. Power and control are part of the apparatus of racism; it cannot be altered without alteration of those patterns as well.

Individual Racism

Institutional racism has its effects and often is implemented in the thoughts and deeds of individuals. Thus, individual racism is revealed in personal and interpersonal attitudes and behaviors which encourage a dominant position for one group and subordinate positions and injustice for others. In American schools, teachers' and students' racist attitudes and behaviors predominate over more egalitarian ones.

Most white teachers and administrators are hardly able to teach students anything different since they feel and model racism themselves.

The best examples of individual racism are in attitudes or behaviors that stress the "rightness of whiteness," the assumption that one's own standards are the correct ones, and that others are less adequate or wrong. Moreover, this is often followed by assumptions and actions that fail to attend to the press of racism throughout the society--the effects racism has on accruing illegitimate privilege to whites and unmerited disadvantage to blacks, browns and members of other minorities. White educators who examine black and brown students often feel their performance inadequate. Rather than then examining the failures within the white dominated educational system, they place the blame for such performance on the black culture itself--its family structure, health patterns, urban ecology, neighborhood organization, etc. One set of racist assumptions is that differential performance is evidence of inadequate performance--sometimes it is, sometimes it isn't, but the feeling by whites that their standards are universal ones constantly obscures this dilemma. The second set of racist assumptions is that the cause of any deficiency (if it is agreed to be one) lies not in the racist system, but in the victims of that racism. Change the victim, not the system, underlies the treatment approaches then adopted. Naturally, this logic also suggests that the cause of white supremacy is not racist privilege, but true individual or cultural merit.

Another important example of individual racism is in the assumption that race doesn't really matter, and that all that counts is individual human talent, style, and value. Of course this perspective denies the oppressive effects of racism on minorities and the special advantages it has had for members of the majority culture. Many whites assume that blacks and browns are just like themselves and that color blindness is a virtuous perspective from which to consider the world. They are thus impressed with their own "tolerance" and upset with black or brown students who choose to emphasize their differences. They see "black history" as relevant only to blacks, and cannot understand its relevance to themselves as a way of assisting them in understanding their own position of privilege in society.

The problems of individual racism must be stressed because educational injustice cannot be eliminated by giving exclusive attention to changing educational or societal institutions. It is also essential that each person consider the "I" institutions, to paraphrase Preston Wilcox, and the human weaknesses that allow individuals to behave in racist ways toward one another. Other scholars suggest whites' needs for similar self-awareness and exploration in the search for a new white consciousness, or an awareness of how racism and discrimination has its roots in white attitudes and behaviors.

Hopefully, such approaches will lead whites to the discovery of the way they, themselves, are disadvantaged and exploited by the racist system in which they are involved. The master is always controlled by his slave, and efforts spent in maintaining control could well be spent elsewhere in this society. A relaxation of the need for white dominance and rightness might free more whites to understand and appreciate aspects of various minority cultures and might lessen the mutually exploitative character of such cultural interaction to date. Whites who criticize the amounts of monies spent on welfare programs or special activities for blacks and browns might be freed to consider where their tax dollars really do go, and who does benefit from tax write-offs, incentive loopholes, special programs and the like. Elite elements of the majority community obviously gain economic, political and cultural advantage from a racist society, and as long as other whites are either blind or accrue some advantage to themselves they consciously or unconsciously play along. As they become more aware of their own racist involvement, they may see more clearly the true sources of their own oppression or disadvantage, and the true dominance of certain well-protected white interest groups.

Action Steps Consistent With These Analyses

It is clear that efforts to alter the school's patterns of racism will confront many cherished societal priorities. The school is only one part of a vast network of institutions that maintains positions of advantage and privilege for whites to the disadvantage of blacks, browns and members of other racial and economic minorities. Changes in the school will probably meet with resistance from other sectors.

One of the most important things the administrator should do is to take leadership in an affirmative action plan for staffing the school. He can stress the need for minority faculty and seek to replace or transfer whites so that more blacks or browns can be added to the staff.

All staff members can be encouraged to participate in training programs designed to raise the level of their conscious awareness of their own racism, and the ways in which they act on such feelings in the classroom. Such training programs should be a requisite for professional advancement and merit pay. Obviously, similar programs are appropriate for administrators as well. Any single administrator can take the lead in suggesting such programs to his peers and in convening others in such activities. A principal's participation in this and his own staff's training program is not only important for his own learning, but serves as a partial demonstration of commitment to the rest of the staff.

Teachers who are trying new approaches to deal with racism in the curriculum or instructional processes should be specially rewarded by public notice and commendation. New programs that focus classroom learning on community or school racism should likewise be encouraged, and teachers who take the lead in these activities should be provided with time and resources freed from other activities so they can develop resources, materials, their own skills, etc.

Student unions which represent the interests of black students or students of other races and ethnic heritages should be encouraged to develop. Such group formation, if seen as legitimate, may help provide support for students' separate and unique cultural identities, and also provide an arena for cultural integration. Informal programs where cultural traditions are explored within a small group also should be encouraged. Only if these activities are seen as legitimate is the school likely to witness any form of interracial coalition in the long run. Special consultant aid can be enlisted from the community in helping to develop such programs.

The principal should advance into the white community with a program to gather community support for anti-racist efforts in school.

Students will need help in combatting community racism, and an educational program out of school may help in this regard. Even if such an effort fails to make inroads into changing the community, it may help protect some students from being harassed for their new efforts, and may indicate to them the school's commitment to new norms.

Parents of different groups can be brought into the school to participate in the management of the educational enterprise. Every effort to use local ethnic talent is a step away from distant white control.

Especially important in anti-racist efforts would be the establishment of a curriculum on whiteness, a set of programs to help white students and adults understand and appreciate their own ethnic heritage. Without such conscious exploration, whites assume that everything around them is their cultural heritage, and that no one else has anything else. Thus, the assumption of inclusive ownership is maintained. Special awareness training of this sort may help whites limit their perspectives of ownership, and, at the same time, help them understand what their unique contribution to the society is and what it is not.

It is essential that the tracking or grouping system which regularly penalizes black students, brown students and poor white students be abolished in favor of more equitable grouping methods. This can be done by individualizing the learning of basic skills and by developing small group settings as the nuclei for team learning and cooperative projects. Once the student can select from a variety of small group learning experiences, there is no need for ability grouping, phasing or tracking which creates an artificial stratification of the student body and intensifies the hostility between various races and social classes.

Schools with large numbers of black students are often in need of resources such as special services, library resources, specialists, etc., or they receive the most mediocre of these resources while superior ones go elsewhere in the system. The principal of an interracial or largely minority school should use every means at his disposal to ensure that he gets the finest of resources and services for his school. The Black Student, Faculty and Citizens Unions can be most effective as prods on the central administration to achieve these quality resources.

Every principal has budget problems which restrict his school's capacity to provide adequately for its students. Nonetheless, he can ensure that this problem is minimized in school through personal fund-raising from industry and other resources in his community to be used for programs of specific value to the school's black students.

The importance of adequate numbers of minority staff members has already been stressed. In a similar fashion, it is important for black and brown educators to rise rapidly to positions of educational leadership, and to assume administrative roles whites now occupy in great numbers. This will require aggressive administrative leadership to transfer and reallocate white administrators to make room for minority educators in their stead.

Action Plan: To establish teams of students as instructors to focus on reducing institutional racism.

Objectives.

The attempt to deal with racism in the school requires varied forms of leadership from all the different groups in school. In this plan we suggest the principal provide leadership and support to an effort by students' to tackle some of the major issues and to work on altering aspects of school life. Such a plan would have secondary goals of:

- -Involving students by providing them with the necessary skills to design learning sessions involving students.
- -Exploring ways by which groups can be mutually supportive of positive racial relations and school life.
- -Developing weekly discussions for small student groups on issues of racism in school and community.
- -Involving students in planning changes in the school that would reduce institutional racism.

Implementation.

1. A racially integrated team of teachers and students should be selected to be trained to take leadership roles in changing the school. The program should not even be attempted unless students and teachers who have shown leadership abilities and a commitment to work on issues of racism can be involved.
2. Time and care should be taken to find the best possible consultants in human relations skills and anti-racism work, in organizational change and community organization, who can help train the student and faculty group.

3. A long-term commitment is necessary to provide material and emotional resources to support and substain the teachers and students who are engaged in such a program. The principal should demonstrate his own commitment by participating in the training program.
4. In order to insure that the training program is not the end of the process, commitments should be made at the beginning to help this group of students (and faculty) implement some of their ideas and plans when the training is completed.

Components of a sample training program.

1. Discussions between student and teacher leaders on examples of racism in the school and in the instructional process.
2. Sharing of blacks' perceptions of whites and whites' perceptions of blacks and discussions of the grounds for and ways of dealing with such stereotypes.
3. Sharing of students' perceptions of teachers and teachers perceptions of students and discussions of ways of dealing with such biases. This is an important step if students and teachers are to collaborate to reduce racism.
4. Separate sessions for racial groups wherein whites can focus on their awareness and attack their own racism, and wherein blacks and browns can focus on strategies for working with the whites in the program.
5. Specific focus on the building of teamness and leadership skills within this group of students and teachers.
6. Group discussions focusing on values and value clarification that can legitimize differences among persons in the group.
7. Skill practice in interpersonal leadership skills that help participants deal more effectively with other students and teachers in the school and community members outside it.
8. Problem-solving around concrete issues in racism.
9. Role playing and simulations that get at some of the underlying conditions of interpersonal and institutional racism.
10. Videotapes that provide a running documentary of training procedures which can be used for feedback to participants on their own behavior.

Value Dilemmas and Issues for the Principal.

1. The creation of such a program announces clearly that the administrator, the principal, sees institutional racism as a major issue in school. Some white educators and community members will object immediately to this diagnosis and suggest

that the principal is being "soft on blacks," prejudging the system, or indulging in "racism in reverse." At the very least a stout intellectual and political defense must be readied.

2. If students are effectively trained and begin to develop and implement change programs in the school they are bound to meet with resistance from their peers and from faculty members. What will be the principal's posture when members of these groups seek to protest his actions or seek to make changes with which he disagrees?

3. What happens when and if this student group decides to challenge the principal and he can no longer control the process of change?

4. During such a training program, the focus upon racism is sure to become heated. Some people will feel hurt or personally attacked and villified, others will hear of such attacks and object to them. The very heat represents to some a failure in race relations, and an escalation that proves this issue should not have been touched. There undoubtedly will be more protest over the training program itself.

5. If the central administration does not have or will not provide the funds for such a training program, including consultation fees and the like, where can the principal generate such monies?

6. The principal's participation in the training program makes him vulnerable to teachers and exposes some of his own racism. However, actual involvement speaks loudly to the commitment to making the school genuinely better and may speak louder than any weakness disclosed.

7. No retraining effort is likely to be helpful unless there is continuing support, notice and reward for new ways of teaching. Much of the burden for this support will fall on the principal. He must observe teachers' classrooms frequently enough to notice and reinforce such changes, engage in informal and formal one-to-one interaction frequently enough to be aware of the staff's difficulties in the training process, and be creative and pragmatic in providing the staff with the resources they need to optimize the retraining process.

Action Plan:	Establishing a Human Relations Course for students to focus on individual and institutional racism.

Objectives.

1. To sensitize black and white students to their own involvement in racism.

2. To increase their awareness and appreciation for members of each others' race.

3. To increase their understanding of institutional racism in school and society so that they can be better enabled to eliminate it.

Implementation.

1. The time of several staff members should be freed so they can receive special training in racism analysis, awareness and instruction.

2. A local Human Relations Course can then be designed, or one used elsewhere modified. It should seek to develop a broad range of conceptual, diagnostic, interpersonal, decision-making, organizing and evaluative skills among students. Academic credit should be provided.

3. Special funds should be set aside so that members of the class can plan several two or three day retreats. In this setting the support and morale for classroom explorations can be heightened, and more informal settings may permit more open and direct learning to occur.

4. Once this course gets underway, it can be a fruitful locus from which to launch other human relations activities in school. For instance, if resources were provided to the class, it might be able to develop and carry out an inventory of racist practices within the school. Perhaps they could also design ways of altering such states of affairs.

Sample curriculum as developed for use by social science teachers and outside consultants.

Identify:

- what does it mean to be black and to be white today
- what is new black consciousness
  new white consciousness

What is racism?

- personal racism or prejudice
- institutional racism
- cultural racism

Where is racism?

- in the school
- in the community
- in us

Social change

- how and where do we make changes
- issues, strategies, tactics

Value Dilemmas and Issues for the Principal.

1. Teachers may resist volunteering for this new course.
2. Teachers may volunteer but resist the training portion because it puts excessive demands on them.
3. Teachers may prove themselves to be too rigidly racist to carry on the course effectively, and the principal will have to replace them.
4. Some parents may be indignant that this course is being seen as a legitimate social studies elective and refuse to allow their children to take it.
5. The teachers may not be sufficiently skilled to deal with emotions that can get unleashed during the course.
6. Students, threatened by their participation in the course, may spread untrue stories about the course into the school and community.
7. The media may sense a "hot story" and exaggerate or distort the course.
8. Central Administration may order this course stopped if there is too much flack about it in the system or community.
9. People who learn new ideas and behaviors through the course may get into trouble when they try to act on those learnings elsewhere.
10. Differing definitions of the nature of "human relations" and of a human relations course will be a constant source of conflict.

Action Plan: A retraining and affirmative action program for teachers

Objectives.

One of the staff's needs is to move beyond traditional concepts and practices of white dominance to a realization of the potential for new forms of interracial collaboration and coalitions. For most whites this will require substantial retraining in traditional concepts and values, skills and practices, and organizational styles. But retraining programs often do not lead to sufficient change. One reason is that supportive norms and structures are seldom available within which teachers can practice and actualize their new behaviors. A second reason is that there usually is no alteration in the staff makeup or reward system which would suggest that a seriously different perspective on racism and schooling is really necessary. Thus, it will be important to suggest two complements to staff retraining: (1) a program of evaluation whereby teachers who are not prepared to alter their behavior, and who still indulge in overtly racist behavior are terminated, and;

(2) a program where considerably greater numbers of minority staff members are hired, and thereby change the peer base within the faculty so that new norms around race and racism can develop from a more plural perspective.

Implementation.

1. The first implementation step is for the administrator to design, or to get expert consultant help in designing, a staff retraining program. Such a program should not take the form of a one-shot conference for an afternoon, a day, or a weekend. It should be designed to be implemented over considerable time, both within and without the school.

2. The focus of such a training program should be at least partly on exploring persons' consciousness of their own racial and ethnic heritage. Every person carries with him some aspects of his culture--in vocabulary, expression, images of the good life, goals, intimate styles of relating, etc., and it is important to understand the plurality of these cultural impressions. It is also important for the retraining program to focus upon one's awareness of collective ethnic and racial history, and the role his ethnic forebearers played in the battles between oppression and freedom, and racism and justice in the American society.

3. The focus of such a training program should be at least partly on the examination and exploration of typical behavior patterns, both intended and unintended, both those that are felt to be personally choiceful and those felt to be institutionally coerced. Racism takes these many forms and is expressed in these many ways. The fullest possible exploration of the variety of racist behaviors whites exhibit, the various ways power and prejudice are subtly linked, should be very helpful in making plans for their eradication.

4. The focus of such a training program should be at least partly on the traditional racism inherent in styles of collegial relations among teachers and social structures within the school. Inasmuch as the school does help promulgate institutional racism in the society, it is important to know both the kinds of racism it promulgates and the institutional mechanisms by which this is done. If the latter is not fully explored the error will be made of focusing change efforts on symptoms rather than on underlying institutional dynamics.

5. The focus of such a training program should be at least partly on the generation and consideration of alternatives in personal ideologies, behavioral styles and organizational forms. Once considered, those alterations that appear feasible, effective and attractive may be practiced prior to implementation in the school organization itself.

6. Clearly, a necessary focus should be upon the strategies of implementing changes in the school itself. For the best results this should be tried in the midst of the training program, so that change efforts can be debriefed. No one should try such efforts completely on their own, however, and each individual must begin to know the interpersonal supports required for him or her to advocate change.

7. Provisions should be made for understanding which faculty members do and do not benefit from this training program, and do or do not appear ready to alter racist behavior and commitments to racist norms. Moreover, the discussions in these training sessions should suggest criteria and behavioral standards which can be applied to other faculty members who may not be attending. Individuals who appear to resist change should be counseled, both by peers and the administrator, to discover the reasons for this resistance.

8. Action should be taken to terminate the services of those teachers who continue to resist change in the direction of anti-racist behavior. Those who are trying to change but are finding it difficult should be given temporary leaves of absence or special assignments until they can achieve considerable progress. Both these groups are simply too dangerous to their students, themselves and the cause of pluralism to be permitted to continue in their powerful roles. This action will require official policy, due process, sound evidence and courageous action by administrative leaders bent upon change in racist institutions.

9. A recruitment program designed to increase the numbers of minority staff should be commissioned and supported with policy, program guidelines and funds. In all cases, of course, competence is vital, but competence is not necessarily reflected in credentials, and this search process should not focus upon people with the "right" credentials in ways that exclude competent minority members.

10. Thus it may be necessary to revise or at least to seek exemptions from, traditional professional guidelines as to the credentials a teacher must have. This step will probably require negotiation with state governing agencies, teachers unions and associations, etc.

Value Dilemmas for the Administrator.

1. Some teachers will be very threatened by this training and will want to drop out. Should their continued participation be demanded? This is a problem which can only be decided on a case by case basis. The principal should attempt to diagnose the causes of the teacher's resistance, the teacher's potential for overcoming it with support and care, and then make the appropriate decision.

2. One may expect to encounter a number of resistant reactions including: an unwillingness to admit negative attitudes about minorities; an inability to understand or identify one's own values and attitudes; a fear of being inquisitioned and having personal feelings used against oneself.

3. Teachers may divide into black and white camps during the training, as their racial identities become more defined and the issues separating them more pronounced. No one should panic--with skillful training and leadership this separation will eventually permit a unity that allows for separate identities. But this takes time. In the meantime the administrator and participants should be prepared for the anguish this process can cause in everyone and should deal with it in the training sessions.

4. Learning new behavior can be painful, especially in the area of race relations. Some teachers may be so "put off" by the process that it may be reflected in their relationships with students and with colleagues. No one should be condemned for this, but their attempts to deal with change in themselves and their behavior should be supported and reinforced.

5. The school changes sought by persons trained in this way may threaten the administrator's own role. It raises the question of just how much change he can take, and how much risk he is willing to put into such a program.

6. The focus on the evaluation of faculty members' racist attitudes and behaviors is very threatening. Some staff members and community members will mistakenly see this as an attack on pluralism and freedom of thought. The issue is not to control the thoughts of staff members but to insure they do not behave in ways that are controlling and damaging to students and offensive to cultural and societal pluralism. The school is a plural but not a non-partisan institution. Some values are emphasized and encouraged, even under the guise of neutrality. Under the present circumstances the values that are expressed are racist ones, ones that degrade minority members because of their racial heritage. We suggest, rather, that the values expressed in personal and institutional practice be anti-racist in nature, and that the commitment to such cultural pluralism is the only way to guarantee freedom of thought and pluralism. Such arguments will undoubtedly take place.

7. Similarly, actual action taken to terminate some white faculty members with dangerous behaviors will raise many problems, and it should be considered and planned carefully. Tenure contracts, seniority clauses and the like will be used as the bases of challenge.

"Students are not likely to believe in the administration's trustworthiness without substantial and continual proof. They are liable, rather to have a suspicious view of his goals, plans, concerns, motives and influence structure. A returning dilemma must be to establish what comes first--response to demands or trust in one another."

An administrator reflecting on the trust issue in collaboration.

"The school has an obligation for preparation into society, and I don't think they can make every decision for themselves. They have to have some restraint. Where do you give youngsters the latitude to operate because it's something they need to prepare themselves for, for an adult role, and where do you say, 'This is an adult role, and we'll make the decision for you.'"

An administrator's view of the need for restraint and control in providing autonomy.

"One of the frequent complaints of my students is 'You don't communicate.' One of the problems I keep running into, whenever I try to delegate anything is 'I wanna see the head man.' I go to the Student Council meeting today, and delegate my assistant to go next week. What do you get? 'The principal is hiding. He doesn't want to come to the Student Council meetings to face us.' Or you can't make it to all the community meetings around town and you delegate someone in your place. And the response? 'Where the hell is the principal? He doesn't want to come out and meet the community. He just wants to deal with us individually on his own turf.'"

Notes on the frustrations of trying to delegate authority.

IV. Organizational Structures and Processes

A school is a complex organization composed of people from varying backgrounds--different social classes, races, cultural traditions, neighborhoods, etc. In addition, once in school these people play very different roles and have different tasks to perform. Teachers, students, administrators, counselors, auxiliary personnel all have their own roles and their own perspectives on the nature and purpose of school life. Persons in different departments, as well, have varying priorities regarding the allocation of organizational funds, time and energy, and the like. In such a diverse organization conflict among these different groups is quite natural and normal. Differences, disagreements and conflicts over the ends of education, and over the means utilized to achieve any set of ends need not be a cause for anxiety, but a reasonable reaction to a plural society.

Faced with these differences, and emergent conflicts of interest and values, the integration and coordination of school life becomes an important priority for the administration. But most organizations operate as if they had a single central purpose, even if there is disagreement on its exact meaning. Thus, the school tries to pull all these threads together to move in a single direction. If one cannot automatically assume consensus of purpose and technique, one must seek conformity or collaboration with the school's central requirements and goals through the exercise of organizational control. Control processes serve the dual function of maintaining conformity to school requirements and goals and coordinating the diverse interests and diffuse behavior of members. These processes involve generating norms and standards, formulating policy and making decisions and implementing norms and decisions by applying rewards and sanctions for comformity or deviance. We see, therefore, that control lies at the very heart of any organization--including a school--and is an essential aspect of organizational life. The unique quality of any organization's control processes are manifest in attitudes, behavior, procedures and structures.

In this chapter we discuss several aspects of the management of conflict and control within the school organization. The structures established to deal with these issues, and the typical processes utilized in these structures demark the peculiar character of the social organization of the school.

An Ideology of Over-control

Central to the operation of our schools is a prevailing ideology, a set of attitudes and norms, that stress the need for a high degree of control over students by adults. The fundamental basis for this ideology is a conviction that students are children; as such they are irresponsible, undisciplined and to be distrusted and controlled for their own good. This perspective plays a central part in our entire society, and especially in the organizational life of public schools. It provides the intellectual and moral rationale for teachers' treatment of students. In turn, teachers' views of students are reinforced by the organizational structure of school which regularly enforces divergent teacher-pupil statuses, which autocratically demands that students accept top down rules and orders without question, and which allows for minimal student self-determination. The controls utilized are not always obvious and overt; punishment is neither the sole nor major tool teachers use to maintain this system. Subtle bribery often is used to maintain adult control, and students who violate norms are carefully excluded from special programs, job or college recommendations, and important extracurricular activities.

Students, who spend most of their youth in school, thus learn to perceive adults as caretakers and enforcers rather than educators. One result is that some students adapt to this system and its assumptions quite well; they become easily controlled, both as students and later as adults. They learn to be rule-followers and conformers, safe in the irresponsible conviction that other people will rule their lives and also look out for their welfare.

Other students, however, resist and rebel against teachers' and administrators' use of these procedures in both managerial and instructional roles. Their response to the school's bureaucratic rules,

customs, procedures, and to the personnel who administer it, is frequently apathy or open resistance and rebellion. Apathy is desperate escape born of the excessive control, regimentation and sense of powerlessness which force many students to "put in time" and avoid the "hassling" which resistance provokes. Either course of action--rebellion or apathy--becomes defined by the school as individual pathology. This is consistent with the cliche that those who define the nature of the phenomenon can set the terms for its treatment--a treatment which focuses on the student who needs correcting, rather than on the system which needs revamping. Defining rebellion as personal or social pathology further permits the system to maintain its legitimacy and to negate any question of its own complicity in the individual's miseducation or rebellion.

No ideology is universally embraced by all members of a system, and there are teachers and administrators who are more humanistic in their assumptions about, and preferred treatment of students. Teachers who see students in other terms frequently advocate a more democratic school organization with flexibility in rules, increased pupil determination, and informal two-way communication which reduces the status differential between students and teachers. But the weight of the prevailing ideology is felt not only in individual attitudes, it is also reflected in school structures and procedures and in sets of staff norms and guidelines. Thus, teachers who are viewed as democratic or "soft" on control or discipline often have marginal status among their colleagues. They may even be treated as deviants who are "unprofessional" in their relations with students.

Teachers and administrators who advocate reform at a structural as well as ideological level, experience considerable pressures, dilemmas, and inner tensions as they operate in a system which promotes a highly controlling orientation. If they are successful in effecting humanistic classrooms or schools, they must nonetheless deal with the larger context of the system's orientation, and they meet pressures and sanctions from people internal and external to the system who wish to maintain the status quo. Few supports exist for them and they are frequently isolated or pushed out of the system.

In practice, control usua ly means white control, and styles preferred by black or brown students often appear especially disorderly and threatening to white educators. For teachers who often experience minority students as alienated or defiant control becomes a primary means of maintaining order in classroom relations. New power relationships and cultural styles demanded by black and brown students and parents concerning majority/minority, teacher/student and home/school relationships are experienced by most white teachers and administrators as especially threatening because they counter the educator's presumed right and duty to establish standards for correct behavior, to control students, and to make decisions for them. White teachers, locked into life experiences in white gettos which reinforce their unconscious belief that "white is right," frequently find reasons to control black and brown students--or to control the situation by avoiding dealing with them altogether. Fears and fantasies about others, born of socialization in a racist culture, underlie controlling practices which are legitimized in school structures and policies.

School Rules and Discipline

If humanistic teachers and administrators are victimized by the custodial ethos of the school, this is even more true for students who are controlled continuously during the school day by a mass of school rules based on this ideology. As we noted earlier, an ideology of control is reinforced and actualized through policies and procedures that mirror and implement the ideology. Control, which often is perceived as inconsistent and unfair, becomes the center of student outcry. Because students are expected to comform to school rules for their own good, and because many rules are simply undefendable in plain language, the basis of rules often are never clearly explained. Thus many students report either that they do not know the local rules or that there are contradictory definitions of school policy. Most often they have little idea exactly who made up the rules for what reasons. This unclarity further adds to their feelings of powerlessness; one cannot attempt to change rules when the locus of rule making is vague, diffuse, and inaccessible. Positive energy to bring about school change

is thus transformed into frustration in the face of the arbitrary and unclear application of rules.

Friedenberg discusses many efforts at rule application as veritable "ceremonies of humiliation," e.g., pupils must publically ask permission of their teachers to go to the bathroom, bathrooms which are frequently kept locked. At times the teacher will check to be sure the student is not teasing by asking, "Do you <u>really</u> need to go?" "Again?" "Are you sure?" Needless to say, this creates a form of social embarassment that is unnecessary, unnecessary, that is, except to maintain clarity about who is in charge.

Other efforts at maintaining discipline pervade the life of the student. The enforcement of a petty, bureaucratic set of impersonal regulations creates personally embarassing, privacy-destroying circumstances. One principal indicated he punished boys by paddling them in the presence of other students in order to "make the humiliation much clearer and thus a more effective disciplinary weapon." Those who work daily in the schools often overlook or minimize the dehumanizing nature of what is an ongoing experience for many youngsters. The movie, High School, is a multi-sensory recapturing of the day-to-day destruction of school youth, and their helplessness in the face of what is incurred "for their own good." It is not surprising that many students would rather go to the principal and face paddling for disciplinary cases, than go to various school counselors or social workers who are seen to practice deceit, spread rumors and administer an emotional control and punishment regarded as much more painful and humiliating than physical paddling itself.

The extent of rules and regulations in the school far outweighs any rhetoric about desires to see students police their own lives. High school rule books list scores of detailed rules on where to be, how to be, and when to be, e.g., regulations for movement of students in the halls; regulations relative to students leaving classrooms, etc. The elaboration and escalation of a concern for order (which is a meaningful issue to any social institution) into universal and petty details and controls must appear as an absurd response to fears of adult loss of control. One student, reflecting upon the overcontrolling organization of school life, comments:

"Regarding time and rigidity, may I say that a typical high school schedule puts a straight-jacket upon a student who seeks to learn more. The typical high school schedule is the same, day after day, with no allowance for the student either to pursue individual interests or to take extra courses or do independent study that he might want to do.... Most schedules hamstring the student from doing these things, thus inducing in him the feeling that he is doing only what the authorities will let him do, and not what he may need. He, under this system, eventually loses all individual incentive and becomes an automaton. Thus rigidity produces boredom, resentment, and depression."

A tremendous number of school rules relate to students' life-style choices, rather than to academic performance. Thus rules about student dress, hair length, and styles of "having fun" are arbitrary means of enforcing a narrow set of societal standards through a control-oriented management system.

One effect of the enforcement of disciplinary standards is that the standards so enforced usually belong to the majority or dominant culture, in this case the representation of the white and middle class culture. Blacks, Browns, Asian-Americans and Native Americans never find their own traditions enforced in school rules, and often find them defined out. The effect of these racist practices is to further alienate minority students from the culture of the school. Inevitably, then, minority students proud of their unique cultures become habitual rule-breakers, deviants to the majority culture's rules and standards. Whites who see members of minorities as generally lawless and troublemakers find their perceptions confirmed through the application of these culturally discriminatory rules and standards. The cycle of racist self-confirmation is thus completed once again.

School Decision-Making Structures

The decision-making structure of the school also highlights the issues of control. The school usually is operated as a formal bureaucracy, with key administrators making the important decisions for all components of the school. If other groups are consulted they are just that, consulted; teachers and students have no formal and little informal influence on the decisions regarding operation of basic school policies and programs. Once basic decisions are made, teachers

in particular do have some autonomy, in staff planning or individual teaching, to innovate and determine portions of the curricular or instructional process.

It is at least a dilemma that an institution so potent in the lives of its students and community permits them so little direct say in how the organization operates. Principals' postures regarding the community generally are buffering attempts to keep the community out or ignorant so "they won't mess things up." Students' ideas seldom are sought or permitted to influence policy; the assumptions of control and the assumed justness of standards clearly make such procedures unnecessary. Often the principal, too, is uncomfortable with this hierarchy of power. Many principals complain they do not make key decisions because they themselves are impotent. Of course there are many constraining pressures on any administrator, but it is clear that a principal has major leeway in making key decisions.

The result of traditional decision-making structures is that blacks and browns, students and teachers as well are controlled primarily by white administrators. Blacks are controlled by whites, students are controlled by teachers, and the whole learning process is controlled by decisions which confirm adult roles and traditions. Regardless of their social, ethnic or racial backgrounds, or their level in the school status hierarchy, many students are engaged in a common quest--a search for some control over their school lives.

The widespread extent of students' desires for more power in their schools is shown in a recent Life magazine study of high schools. This study reported that 58% of all students (rural, suburban, and urban) want a larger role in deciding school policy, 66% want to participate in determining school rules and curriculum, and 48% think they should have a hand in determining disciplinary measures and the way classes are run. The most common operationalization of these desires is the non-democratic student government, where students participate by permission of duly constituted authorities. In most cases student governments do nothing of importance, have inspired little more than apathy, cynicism and misunderstanding in students who continue to feel powerless in a system which has not genuinely permitted them any real or broad influence on their educational life.

Trust

One outcome of these organizational structures and processes is an institution fraught with distrust. Students do not trust teachers to be truly concerned about them. They seldom feel teachers treat them as adults, worthy of trust and respect. Teachers do not feel trusted by students, and do not trust them, in return. Black students and brown students do not trust white students, and the reverse is true as well. Minority students, especially, do not trust the staff. And, many staff members assume that minority students are especially untrustworthy. Educators do not trust parents to understand or appreciate a good education, or their difficult roles in implementing it. Many community members do not trust the professional staff to understand their needs and values and either implement them in the school or appreciate their value nonetheless.

The emphasis on control of youth reflects, as we have noted, a concern for order on the assumption that students cannot or will not be responsible for their own self-control. Thus, a major socialization goal of adolescence, acquiring self-control, is absent from life in school, and a pattern is substituted that keeps them in a childlike state. The larger number of petty rules and disciplinary regulations is one more example of the expectation that students cannot be trusted to behave well, will misbehave unless they are ruled tightly and unless discipline is administered externally and forcefully. Students' lack of involvement in school decision making is based on the cultural assumption that students cannot be trusted to make competent or objective decisions. Moreover, it is based on the expectation that students do not know what they need.

The result of these processes is that students lose trust in the concern and competence of their educational staffs to have their interests at heart. In the face of this perception, students and members of the community often lose faith in the entire system of educational representation. The representation system only works when a constituency trusts its representatives, has access and mutual communication with them, and can hold them accountable through recall, re-election, etc. In the case of schools, open and honest communication between students

and teachers is rare. The demand for distance and impersonal relations takes precedence over mutual conversation on important matters. Moreover, students have no real process for monitoring or holding the staff accountable. Thus there is a loss of trust in the ability of the staff to represent their interests and make viable decisions in their behalf.

Without trust, the school edifice starts to crumble. One option is to try to operate without trust, and this requires coercion and command to produce behavior previously produced by willing and trusting conformity. This is the option most selected by administrators faced with the dilemma of mistrust. The second option, now selected by many students, is to distance oneself from the school and give up on its relevance for them; this appears to be an acceptable adaptation to a hostile environment. The third option, now selected by some students and parents, is to replace trust with power, this time their own, and to seek themselves to control the school in their own interest. The fourth option, seldom used but often discussed, is to seek to open up clogged communication and influence channels, to seek an alteration of control patterns, and to seek to rebuild patterns of collaboration, mutual trust and respect throughout the school. Each strategy has its own disadvantages and advantages; each has its place in the myriad attempts to change this fundamental feature of modern schooling.

Action Steps Consistent With These Analyses

Strong leadership should be exerted to counter the prevailing ideology regarding control of students. An alternative system of norms that supports student self-control and self-direction should be stated and supported. Clearly this involves more than words; it requires followup actions that can help implement new professional norms. Teachers and students should be rewarded for developing autonomous learning activities that do not operate under adult controls.

More varied contacts should be generated between students and teachers that break down the status distance created by the obligations to control and to be controlled. If status privileges and distinctions can be altered, the autocratic power relationship that impedes collabora-

tive learning and that develops distrust also may be eliminated. This does not mean that students and teachers must love each other or be "buddy-buddy," but that the strong caste lines that prevent honest and open interchange among teachers and learners should be eroded.

Peer collaboration among students can be encouraged and stressed as a collective learning activity. It is clear that the student peer group plays an important role in students' perceptions of their own fate in school and their educational achievement; the attempt to free these resources for autonomous learning may capitalize on some of the healthiest dynamics of adolescent relations. Students who fear peer rejection, or who find adults impeding peer interaction, cannot support one another's learning efforts. Many of these problems in peer trust are exacerbated by norms and rules in the classroom which serve to separate students and to pit them against one another. Vehicles for inspiring intergroup collaboration on issues of common interest, and norms which proclaim a value for cultural and individual differences should be developed and implemented.

It is especially important to develop alternative organizational forms for students already alienated from the traditional adult control structures of school--minority group students and poor students. Creative and imaginative programming also can seek ways to involve minority and majority students, lower class and middle class students, in joint activities that utilize their diverse talents, views and styles for mutual benefit.

An important activity groups of students can collaborate upon is the establishment of new sets of rules and regulations regarding student behavior in school (or student and faculty behavior for that matter). One benefit of such activity is that it places the responsibility for establishing what rules may be necessary in the hands of those people most affected by them. Moreover, it establishes an arena in which students can experience working with ethnic diversity and can attempt to set rules that are satisfactory to a variety of cultural traditions.

It is essential that new internal decision-making structures be created in schools whereby students can have more direct control over

the managerial and educational decisions affecting their common lives. Such control does not mean merely more advice, counsel or involvement, but rather more participation in actual decision-making and sharing in the exercise of legitimate power over school programs, discipline policies, personnel matters and budgets.

In many of these activities it will be important for the administrator to take active and sustained leadership, not merely to announce a program and step out of the way. Adults often have a lot to offer students, and nothing stated herein should suggest that they do not, or that adults should adopt a laissez-faire posture so students can fall flat on their faces and be told "I told you so." But help, or teaching, is not the same as control, and it is the high degree of overcontrolling of student behavior we seek to alter.

Action Plan:	To create a structure for student participation in school governance and formulation of educational policy.

Objectives.

More schools need to show an increased commitment to student choice and decision-making about their own educational programs. However, frequently there is no apparatus for the expression of collective interests except for tokenistic student councils or non-voting advisory committees. Schools committed to student collective expression and influence have tried various forms of representative governments or total school meetings for decision-making. Few have been successful because they fail to deal with real issues in meaningful ways for most of the student body. We propose here a model for a participatory governance structure that is designed to involve and educate students in educational policy making.

Implementation.

1. A representative structure of students, staff and community should be established to meet regularly for purposes of policy-making, such policies to be administered by the principal and his staff who would be accountable to the school governance structure. Representatives would be elected from the student body and community organization, with the students having no less than 1/2 the total voting membership.

2. Representatives would be responsible to their constituencies and methods would be developed to insure ongoing communication between representatives and constituents. It is essential that constituencies develop and communicate their opinions on issues, their wishes on forthcoming decision items, etc. Likewise, it is essential that representatives inform their constituencies regarding past actions and future issues. These procedures are vital to the success of any governance structure and should not be treated lightly. Methods of communication and accountability could include the following:

   a. each student representative would have a certain body of students to contact regularly, individually or in group settings, for their opinions and desires on issues.

   b. open forums or speak-outs could be held regularly with the governance body, so that its members can assess the opinion and needs of their constituents on a variety of issues.

   c. meetings of the governance body should be open to allow for input by constituents before voting takes place on issues.

   d. the agendas for meetings of the governance body should be developed with input from constituents as well as members of that body, and should be posted before each meeting for the information of constituents who might wish to attend.

   e. minutes of meetings should be shared widely.

3. A curriculum on the exercise of political power, available to all students, should be heavily linked to the operation of the governance body. Without ongoing formal education on political processes many students are not likely to appreciate or utilize the governance body or opportunities for their own involvement in student governance. The strength of the student representation in the governance structure is related to the interest and support of the student body. This curriculum should not be presented by anyone formally connected with the school unless the students explicitly request it. Under any circumstance, the students should identify and select their own resource.

4. Time for governance body sessions, committee meetings, and meetings with constituencies should be provided during school hours so that they may be an integral part of the student's education in school, as a serious and not a tokenistic activity. In addition, all members of the governance body should have full access to the information required to decide a policy or program matter. Information is a form of expertise and power, and if information is highly controlled so is the entire system.

5. The issues dealt with by the governance body should be real and important. Policies on rules and regulations, staffing,

special programs, desegregation, teacher evaluation are real and relevant. Discussions of school dances, boosters and the like may be better dealt with in committee structures, as they are not vital to the operation of the school.

Value Dilemmas and Issues for the Administrator.

1. A governance structure, as proposed here, is not an advisory group, and will demand alternate authority for policy making in areas and ways in which the administrator may or may not be comfortable. This dilemma is heightened if the central administration or School Board does not recognize the authority of the school's governance body and places accountability to them solely in the principal's lap. If the principal himself does not have ultimate authority in his school he can hardly be responsible for decisions he has not made. If at some point legitimate authority is not directly provided or delegated to the new structure, it will be doomed.

2. Pressure may be placed on the administrator to "play down" the significance of this governance activity because it violates the traditional definition of the student's role and professional norms of control and expertise. Parents who are threatened by increased power for their offspring in any setting, also may mobilize against the principal.

3. The need for meetings between representatives and their constituencies, the need for time to digest information, the need for time to meet as a new structure all challenge the traditional uses of time in an academic institution. The principal will undoubtedly be under pressure to justify the time and energy expended on apparently "political" activities, and the time lost from apparently "educational" pursuits. Of course, his rationale probably rests secure on some notion of the typical resistances and wastes of time in school that may be countered by a collaborative governance form, but the case will have to be made nonetheless.

4. These dilemmas once again heighten three factors:

   a. the administrator's commitment to the concept of participatory governance in this form and his willingness to risk a great deal on it.

   b. his technical skills in planning an intellectual and political justification for this venture and in presenting it clearly to varied parties. And, his technical skills in communicating such a complex and innovative idea both within and without the school.

   c. his political savvy in developing support for this governance structure elsewhere in the system. He cannot go it alone, and must have an additional power base such as organized student, teacher or community bodies, or a coalition of all three.

Action Plan: To provide a clear student grievance procedure for a school or school system.

Objectives.

One of the major problems in schools is that students feel they lack a meaningful way of prosecuting their grievances. The request for a formal procedure is an outgrowth of the lack of student-teacher trust and the failure of informal means of communication and concern. Without formal or informal channels that work students resort to more "illegitimate" methods that offend or threaten staff with a resultant increase in tension between students and staff, and, at times, hostile community involvement. This action plan proposes a grievance procedure for students which lays out, step by step, mechanisms to be utilized by the complainant. It moves from discussions in early steps to more escalated procedures when proceeding steps are not effective.

Implementation.

1. The student with a grievance should discuss it with the person involved--student or staff member--if he feels he can. If he does not feel free to do so, he should bypass this step. The dangers of subtle teacher retaliation to student grievances are so great that no student should be required to be very vulnerable during a grievance procedure.
2. The students should discuss the issue with classmates or staff members to see if they consider it a justified concern.
3. The grievance should be put into written form, with whatever documentation might be helpful. Others may sign this document, attesting to its veracity if they wish.
4. The petition developed in (3) should be shared simultaneously with the teacher and the principal. A written response should be requested.
5. If the teacher's response is unsatisfactory, the petition and the response should be presented, with the reasons for its unsatisfactoriness stated, to the principal. He is then required to respond in writing.
6. If this response is not satisfactory to the student, and if no resolution is forthcoming, a copy should be presented to the superintendent.
7. If the problem still remains, the plaintiff should write to the President of the School Board, presenting the petition and requesting an appearance before the Board at its next meeting. He should indicate to the Board that he is notifying the local newspapers and other media of the grievance, his action, and his scheduled appearance. And finally, he should try to have an attorney accompany him to the School Board meeting.

Value Dilemmas and Issues for the Administrator.

1. The procedure provides organizational legitimacy for students' complaints by establishing various forums for hearings, each

one with the potential to build constituencies which may pit themselves against one another. The publicity attendant on the latter steps may cause the administrator considerable embarassment which he might prefer to avoid altogether.

2. A school principal who supports this procedure for his school may face opposition from his staff, superintendent or school board members when he tries to implement it. Teachers, in particular, may feel it erodes their authority and opens them up to continual harassment. He may question whether this grievance procedure has sufficient priority that he cares to defend and support it because of the risk.

3. Students might collude to escalate the procedure beyond the early steps in order to dramatize their broader disaffection with the school. This could be very costly in time and energy for the principal and staff and is likely to enrage staff, superintendent and board if it becomes a process used often by many students.

4. Teachers may feel that they, too, are subject to substantial arbitrary control in the school, and that they, too, desire a procedure of this sort.

5. It is unclear whether the plan as suggested here really provides enough support for the students wishing to utilize it. Some students may need help in writing a petition, and many students will have difficulty in gaining access to, or hiring the services of a lawyer. Perhaps a special ombudsman role might help facilitate the use of this grievance procedure, and perhaps the school system ought to guarantee the services of a lawyer for student grievances whenever students feel one is needed.

6. If an administrator considers that he is truly a student advocate then he will want to implement such a procedure, yet at the same time he will have to be a master strategist to get it approved and fairly utilized over time. Some well-intended advocates are not astute strategists and may require consultation and help from others to implement this grievance procedure successfully.

Action Plan:	To build staff support for increased student freedom/autonomy in the life of the school.

Objectives.

Adults sometimes subscribe in theory to the idea of increased freedom for youth but fear it in practice. Often they fear it because they believe that an increase in student freedom means a decrease in their own ability to influence youth, and that they will be put in a less powerful position themselves. Further, some teachers do not recognize that in the absence of legitimate

freedom, youth will seek and often find it through informal means. We propose herewith an inservice training program for staff that can help teachers deal with their fears around student freedom and sensitize them to the areas and processes by which they can provide autonomy and authority to students.

Implementation.

1. Resources should be provided that can help teachers understand:
   a. the needs of students for greater autonomy in school.
   b. the behaviors of adults that constrain the autonomy of students, including the organizational practices of school policies and programs.
   c. the needs for control that adults have and their reactions to greater autonomy for students. The fears and fantasies of individual teachers should be explored, for the strength of irrational elements in the individual can undercut the most rational motivations to change. Desensitization to the perceived threat of student freedom may occur through empathetic and systematic acknowledgment that such fears deserve attention.
2. An ongoing training program can be established that provides for constant gathering of data and exploration of values and practices on these issues with staff members.
3. Students in the school should be used as monitors or in other ways make input into this training program.
4. The principal should be prepared to provide extra incentives and rewards for teachers who can actualize these new behaviors in their classes. All the traditional rewards systems (prestige, merit increases, evaluations, etc.) should be available.
5. The principal himself should take the lead in demonstrating new behaviors with respect to students. And, he should be able to demonstrate more freeing behavior with his teachers as well, liberating their resources for more autonomous work in school.

Value Dilemmas and Issues for the Administrator

1. The administrator may not wish to provide freedom for the staff to the extent that he is advocating it for students--which, in turn may mean that he is personally not committed to providing great freedom for students either. In such a case the principal's own fears and fantasies can become clarified and he may be helped to deal with them honestly.
2. Such clarification of his own position can help the administrator strengthen his own commitment to reducing control over students. Such clarification can also strengthen the staffs'

position on this issue and can lead to staff conflict over the matter if there is not consensus to provide autonomy for students. The administrator must be able to recognize such a conflict situation as an inevitable part of the democratic process and not become threatened by it to the point that the issue of student autonomy and self-direction becomes clouded by the issue of staff disunity. In fact, staff conflict can point out the necessity for self-direction if different groups are to identify and articulate their own needs and negotiate their differences.

3. Some students, perhaps many, at first will be dismayed by and resistant to greater autonomy. Having grown up without it, they may not know how to take advantage of it and may be threatened by the choices and opportunities with which they are faced. Certainly their parents will object to innovations of this sort. The principal and teachers will have to decide whether this means a program of reduced control should not be tried. Should it be tried only for students who want it? Will some students need special training or preparation in how to use their freedom?

"It seems to me that you have to take a position. You are the guy who has to say that in your best professional judgment this is the way it's going to be. Now, it seems to me that you take that position on 'order.' What I think some of us are arguing for is that these are the kinds of decisions administrators have to make in terms of program, curriculum, and everything else. We have to stand up and say, 'Hey, from a professional point of view, to service the needs of our kids, this is where we stand.'"

An administrator's advocacy of professionalism.

"I wonder if change on a meaningful level has ever really occurred on the initiative of professionals. We have all become much more responsive to the need for change in the face of violence, and the thing that really made it very hard for me when we had our own confrontation was to hear from the kids. When the kids closed the school and presented the demands, then things began to happen and they happened very rapidly. I just wonder if historically there have been any major changes in education as a field without some major revolution of some sort in the social order. Perhaps it didn't always have to take the form of violence, but I have the feeling we've always been reactive rather than anticipatory."

Another administrators reflection on the conservative character of professionalism.

"You know the resistance in your central staff, and you know the resistance elsewhere. I think you sometimes have to say, 'O.K., let's go.' I think in a sense you have to conspire with elements of the community; you have to pick out those forces that will attempt to create a crisis without letting it get out of control, so that it will bring pressure on your board."

An administrator's notion of how accountability can become power to alter professional stances.

V. Professionalism and Accountability

The two prior chapters have discussed some of the issues regarding racism and adult control in educational systems. These two themes are joined again intricately in the nature of professional assumptions and practices which undergird modern schooling. In practice, professionalism operates to support white control and dominance of schools, and white middle class standards for educational programs and achievements. Moreover, professionalism supports and provides a rationale for adult patterns of control over youth.

The Professional Political System

The professional nature of the school is intimately connected with its political nature and the two cannot be separated. The special competence of professionals essentially revolves around their alleged expertise in knowing what is good for their clients, and being able to make objective decisions about the experiences or treatments that are in their clients' best interests. Since it is assumed that professionals can and will make judgments on behalf of their clients, the latter are not thought to need power to determine things for themselves. It is assumed that it is professional expertise which leads to wise decisions about the course of service or treatment; therefore the client often is not even consulted about the form and direction of this service.

It also is assumed that only professionals can judge the efficacy of the service delivered; thus the client is not needed or allowed to evaluate the delivery. Moreover, the client usually lacks a voice in school decision-making and is unable to effect change in the quality or kind of services he is offered.

It is not at all clear that these assumptions about the benevolent and functional nature of professionalism really operate that way in practice. In the first place, not all professionals are expert in the multitude of complex skills involved in the educational process occurring both within and without the school. Second, it is not clear that professionals really do act with the best interests of their clients at

heart. In some cases they do not know their clients' best interests, or apply their standards of the good life to clients who may have other values and goals. Even when professionals' notions of the clients' interests are consistent with the clients' notions of his interests, the professional still may not act on the clients' interests, for he has his own interests to deal with. Professionals, too, have become a class, a collective group that has some of its own interests to protect, and when these interests run counter to those of the clients', the professionals' self-interests often take precedence. A simple example may be the conflict between using funds to raise teachers' salaries or to purchase recreational materials for students; with a limited supply of funds students' interests and teachers' interests are juxtaposed. Of course this is natural in a democratic society where conflicts of interest are to be expected. But this natural conflict does challenge the assumptions that professionals will act in their clients' best interests and that, therefore, clients do not need to monitor professional behavior.

Professionalism is the glue that binds together a disparate group of staff members into a collective body. It identifies the fact that they all received special training for their roles, that they all have a common base of expertise, and that they all have some interests in common. One of these interests, of course, is the maintenance of their status vis-a-vis those of other statuses in the school--students and/or parents. Thus, one of the internal meanings of professionalism is the status and opportunity to be in control of students, and staff norms and common practices support this control orientation. Teachers who violate these norms, either in their views and behaviors with students or in innovative classroom practices that seek lesser control, may be charged with the ultimate sanction, that of being "unprofessional." Thus, professionalism also becomes a set of norms for exerting peer social control over other faculty members.

Professional norms of expertise also serve as inadvertent barriers to effective collaboration among teachers. Isolation is pervasive because each teacher is assumed to be a fully competent professional and often is shut off in his or her autonomous classroom. Observations or

suggestions by peers often are perceived as intrusive threats to one's own competence. The teacher who asks for help often is perceived as incompetent, and thus wariness and isolation characterizes staff relations. The collegial support which teachers need if they are to innovate is lacking.

The majority of school professionals servicing racial minorities are white. In general, then, they come from a different social group and culture than their clients. Their professional expertise and decisions, which shape the curriculum and the program, reflect their own white culture and as such are biased against the interests of their black and brown clients. White educators simply cannot be counted on to know and meet the needs of black and brown students and communities.

Another factor in the relationship between professionalism and racism is the way that causation for school failure is assessed and placed in the laps of minority students and their families. The professional often ignores or denies the roles which schools and the profession play in undereducating or miseducating students, and in maintaining the societal status quo. The readiness of the white professional to anticipate school failure and deprecate the learning potential of black and brown students facilitates "professional" decisions to remove poor learners from the "normal" classroom, to track them with other slow or "disadvantaged" learners, to put them into special education or compensatory programs, etc. White norms, white standards, and white cultures blind the white professional to the actual potentials of minority group students who appear "different" from white middle-class students. Physical and social distance from the minority community permits the white professional to maintain ignorance of the black and brown cultures and to stereotype minority group students and their communities.

This discussion indicates that professionalism makes it possible for expertise to be assumed where it may not be warranted; for cultural hegemony to be transmitted without alternative inputs; for one class of people in school to feel they know all they need to know about another class of people; and for one class of people to make decisions for others without the others having democratic recourse to monitor, approve

or influence those decisions. Undoubtedly, many teachers and administrators would agree with this analysis. But the stronghold of the myth of value-free and expert professionalism locks almost all educators into behavior patterns and norms that they evidently cannot avoid.

Professionalism and Accountability

We have indicated some of the ways in which professionalism fails to provide clients with ways of assessing or influencing the nature of the system or the services being delivered. The lack of accountability of the educational profession and school institution to students and their parents has massive fall-out in the form of protecting incompetent teachers, disregarding the legitimate and changing needs of youth, and maintaining institutional racism.

The profession, being white controlled, is of course especially unaccountable to the minority community. The dilemma of accountability takes potent shape when blacks and browns do not often appear as staff members; thus, they do not help control the schools from the top of the hierarchy. Since the schools are not accountable to clients, black and brown communities do not control their schools from the bottom either. The white community usually has more "representatives" on the staff to present their cultural priorities, and, more often, they have informal access to staff members as they live within their community.

Greater accountability will require profound changes in professional norms and in the delivery of services. Such changes are bound to challenge many of the practices which support racism and the oppression of students in schools. Professionals will not be permitted to maintain unilateral control of school life, nor an autonomy which has permitted them, historically, to deliver inadequate services and to isolate themselves from their clients, the community, and each other. Teacher unionism will grow, but so too will pressures from students and communities unless professional accountability is built into school practices and teacher contracts. There already are clauses in some teacher contracts that allow for teacher dismissal if prejudicial behavior can be proved--and such dismissals are bound to occur. In some systems, staff hiring and promotion is being decided by represen-

tative governance bodies of teachers, administrators, students and community, and evaluation of teachers for maintenance or termination is an inevitable progression of this activity. Continued legitimate opportunities for political conversation and activity between professionals and non-professionals, between staff, students and community, are bound to change the nature of traditional professional role definitions, and to politicize school-community participants. A more viable educational institution may emerge as the result.

The dilemma of professional control and accountability is especially poignant for the minority professional. If the black or brown administrator sees his accountability primarily to the minority students and community, he will be charged by many of his white colleagues with violation of professional norms. If the black or brown administrator seeks to utilize his intimate knowledge of racism to educate his colleagues, and to institute change, he runs the risk of outright rejection and sabotage by white colleagues. Since the profession is controlled by whites, a confrontation with professional norms is usually a confrontation with white power and control. When a black or brown administrator challenges this control, he is especially resisted, and professional norms and standards are frequently utilized as the vehicle for attack. Even a white administrator, aggressively engaging in educational reforms to eliminate institutional racism can become the target of attack on the basis of unprofessional conduct, e.g., "questioning the humane motivations of professionals toward their students."

If power for central educational decisions is to rest in the hands of the client, it is important to define <u>who</u> is the client. Is it the students or their parents? We cannot assume that students and their parents are in closer accord than students and their teachers, though in the case of minority group populations there may be some unifying threads borne out of racial issues that bind parents and their children. If <u>students</u> are determined to be the clients, in whose hands will rest ultimate power? What will this mean for professionals? Will expert knowledge and experience be utilized adequately or scorned? Will the consequent educational system be any more relevant and successful for

the student than the professionally dominated one, or is some combination of student and professional expertise needed?

And what if the focus of control is seen as the domain of the community as client? Is the community made up solely of parents of children in the schools, or does it contain others as well? What if the school is moving towards innovative practices deemed desirable by teachers and students, but considered "dangerous" or undesirable by the community? In such a case, whose values rule? Those of the teacher or the parent? Can professionals bow to that segment of the community with which they agree and ignore that segment with which they disagree? What will community control mean for the professional?

It is obvious that there are value dilemmas inherent in the issues of professionalism and accountability or client control. But regardless of where the power lies--in the profession, in the institution, or in the client--institutional accountability to the student for his learning must pervade all decisions that are made.

Without question, the community control movement is affecting the current school-community relationship. Most school systems have come to recognize that their isolation from their communities has had negative consequences and thus are groping for ways to involve their communities more fully while retaining essential control. However, many communities are demanding more than involvement. They are making non-negotiable demands for control over the internal structure and relationships of their own schools and community, including the selection of principals and the context of the curriculum as it relates to culture, politics, values, concepts and philosophies of education and the like. Their non-negotiable demands are being presented, not discussed or debated, and dissident communities are determined to implement them with or without the support and encouragement of white-controlled institutions.

In the face of this growing community-control movement it is unlikely that school systems will be permitted to stop at tokenistic measures for community involvement. Involvement will have to be meaningful and influential, and shared decision-making between school and community will become a forced reality for many school systems as communities organize and utilize their power.

Action Steps Consistent With These Analyses

Citizen advisory committees should be established to advise school personnel on needed programs, omissions, and policies. Better still, plans should be initiated for a governance board consisting of school faculty, students and community representatives. It is imperative that racial minority groups be represented as separate interest groups in order that minority opinion be legitimized and expressed collectively.

Community members should be utilized in the school as volunteers, as paid aides, as classroom consultants to teachers, as curriculum planners and developers, as researchers of the community's needs, as resources to the school about their culture and about the problems of the community, and as active participants in school-community service projects. Utilization of community members puts the school in closer touch with its clients' needs and resources. It also increases its clients' access to the school and their ability to hold the school accountable.

Mechanisms should be operationalized to permit more informal communication between teachers and students, and teachers and community members. Such communication can serve to decrease professional isolation and community alienation.

To the extent that all relevant academic decisions are made by professionals, professionals still control the local school apparatus. With or without an alternative governance council or advisory committee, students and parents should have greater decision-making influence on the daily decisions that determine the content and the process of instructional activities. This could take the immediate form of greater student selection of courses and course materials, parental or community selection of a school principal and participation in the selection of a staff.

Students should be encouraged, and credit provided, to create or arrange innovative learning experiences outside of the school. Students can seek out community agencies or institutions, or individual scholars or craftsmen, and take instruction in skills from them outside of normal classes, hours, requirements, etc. This instructional form

evades the presumption that good instruction can only come from an accredited professional.

The principal or administrator can take leadership to encourage students' assessment and articulation of their learning goals and needs. This procedure would avoid the assumption that only professionals know the answers to these questions, and should provide data that can guide a more effective educational enterprise.

Students should be encouraged, and provided the resources, to take the lead in establishing a faculty evaluation procedure. Students' own standards should be the guiding principles here, and these data should provide an effective vehicle for assessing client satisfaction with the services being delivered in the individual classroom.

Students should be encouraged to set up their own courses within school. They may teach them, or arrange for others to teach, but their own implementation of new learning activities is necessary. Such an approach also may take advantage of the potency involved in students' teaching and learning from other students.

The administrator should take the lead, in community and collegial councils, in encouraging the bypassing or eradication of accreditation and credentializing practices which exclude excellent teachers from working in the school because of their failure to attend college, graduate, student teach, or fulfill any of the irrelevant criteria the professionally controlled apparatus requires. We all know there are master teachers in the community who could do an excellent job in school if they could be used. Assigning them the lower status of a para-professional is simply an injustice. Steps should be taken to eradicate the very apparatus that forces such injustice, and that defines out so many excellent resources.

Action Plan:	To establish accountability by providing parents or students with opportunities and guidelines for observing teachers in action.

Objectives.

The classic method for informing the parent of what is happening to their child in school has been to document the students' progress

in report cards and parent/teacher conferences. This is only one end of the seesaw, and falls short of mutual accountability unless the school also provides the parent with information on the teacher's behavior, commitment and competence. A method for providing students or parents with structured observation opportunities is presented herewith. This method provides observation guidelines so that the parents' or students' observation and comments can provide constructive feedback to the teacher and principal rather than diffuse complaints or nonspecific enthusiasm. We include here a sample of an evaluation form that can be used to help evaluate teachers' performance. There are many other forms that can be used or altered to suit the purpose of each local school district.

Implementation.

1. The principal should announce to his staff that he intends to press a procedure for community and student assessment of teaching activities. He should indicate ways in which the faculty itself may utilize the data as guidance for their own professional growth plans. He should allow for full staff discussion and reaction to this idea, while being clear and forceful about his own position.
2. The principal also should seek to develop support for this program with his supervisors. They may need to enter negotiations with unions or associations that seek to control the use of such materials.
3. The leadership of student and community groups and the principal together should develop an instrument for conducting the assessment.
4. Further, they should specify in detail the uses to be made of the information collected, and who is to control such use. These are essential questions, better settled ahead of time than disagreed about in the midst of an already heated process.
5. The following charts indicate some questions that might provide a base for organizing classroom observations.

1. Most teachers spend their time doing many different tasks at school. How much of your time was spent during an average school day on each of the following--a great deal of time, some time, no time? (Check one for each of A-I.)

	A great deal	Some	Very little
A. Teaching students academic material	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
B. Disciplining students	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
C. Counseling students	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
D. Keeping records and administrative duties	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
E. Grading papers and exams	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
F. Serving on staff committees	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
G. Talking with colleagues about classroom practices	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
H. Advising student clubs	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
I. Other (specify_____ _____)	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

2. In the classroom the teacher

A. Provides relevant and interesting subject matter	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
B. Reinforces student autonomy	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
C. Provides fair discipline	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
D. Provokes classroom discussion among peers	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
E. Knows the subject matter	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
F. Participates in informal discussions with students	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
G. Is sensitive to student apathy and boredom	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
H. Helps students work on their own	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
I. Other (specify _____ _____)	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

3. Composite Evaluation of Teacher

__ Outstanding

__ Above average

__ Average

__ Below average

__ Poor

4. Area of Observation

__ Classroom

__ School grounds

__ Hallways

__ Lunchroom

__ Other (specify _____)

Another series of questions of similar character can focus on some overall aspects of the entire school and general school procedures.

5. How is discipline maintained in the school?

--Who makes discipline rules?

--Who enforces them? How?

--What grievance procedures exist for students and faculty if they feel they have been treated unjustly?

--What roles do parents play in the school discipline of their children?

--What knowledge does the school and community have about the civil rights of students and faculty in the schools? Are these rights being adhered to?

6. Is this school involving itself in the life of its surrounding community? How?

--Through use of volunteers and paid staff aides from the community?

--Through focusing its curriculum on a diagnosis of community problems and needs and on action-study programs designed to meet these needs?

--Through utilization of community resources and institutions as a laboratory for school curriculum, e.g., its health care services, courts, law offices, business and industries, civil agencies, social service agencies, recreation agencies, museums, etc.?

Value Dilemmas and Issues for the Administrator.

1. Teachers' experiences with students and parents traditionally are distant and defended by teachers' superior status. They are likely to be threatened by the prospect of being themselves evaluated by students or parents. However, the procedure recommended here increases the potential for constructive feedback and a team approach between teachers, students, parents, and principal. Once over their initial resistance, teachers may find it a helpful rather than painful process. The first problem for the principal is to get teachers to approve and accept its use. A good strategy would be to have teachers develop their own set of suggested guidelines and observation recording forms, using this as a model to be modified or rejected--or perhaps adopted in totally student or community groups.

2. The problem of use of the materials can be expected to be a serious one. It would be easy to say the data are for non-evaluative feedback only, but it is clear the data also are useful for making decisions about teachers' future work in the school and community. They could and should be used for these purposes. However, once this possibility is raised, the resistance to non-professional evaluations of a professional will also be raised. This issue cannot be ducked; it is the issue. Non-professionals have a right and the necessary expertise to evaluate professionals' performance, and they should be encouraged to do so. But the political problems involved may be great.

3. Another key issue is for this procedure to be planned carefully so that observations do not completely disrupt the regular workings of the school. The dynamics of unobtrusive observation will have to be presented, discussed and practiced.

4. The data on one teacher are most meaningful when compared with other teachers. So, too, the data on teachers in one school take on more meaning when compared to reactions to the staffs of other schools. It might be well to seek the cooperation of other schools or of educational research agencies that may have already collected comparative data on other schools.

5. It is conceivable that an evaluative process of this sort raises so many conflicts that it will be hard to overcome them in the course of normal activities. In our view "normal" activities should temporarily cease while these basic issues in student-teacher relations are resolved. Without better resolution, one can expect a continuation of less open forms of teacher-learner resistance, disrespect, subversion, and warfare now experienced in school.

Action Plan:	To establish teams of community organization members and key teachers to plan for desegregation.

Objectives.

1. Building community support for school desegregation by involving community leaders in making specific plans.
2. Exploring on-going ways in which school and community can work together more effectively in changing the school.
3. Exploring ways in which awareness building and skill development can alter teachers' behaviors in relation to black and brown students.

Historically, desegregation plans and strategies have involved little more than mere manipulation of numbers and student slots on paper. What has been missing is concern for the human element. Moreover, most planning for desegregation has been undertaken by transportation technicians and high level educational professionals. It is vital that members of the communities most directly affected by school desegregation have legitimate opportunity to determine the plan for their school, to insure its attention to human and cultural concerns, and to be involved in the plan's actual implementation.

Implementation.

1. The administrator should contact local community organizations such as the NAACP, Latin American Council, Urban League, Inter-Tribal Council, Chamber of Commerce and ask their participation in school desegregation planning. He should take the time necessary to make sure that the working group includes community leaders who are committed to the program and who have shown leadership skills.
2. Several representatives from the teaching staff, ones who favor desegregation and who have leadership roles of a formal or informal character with their colleagues, should be added to this group.
3. Members of both these groups will probably need some input or training in a variety of areas: latest information on educational plans utilized elsewhere; conducting local diagnoses; change planning; interpersonal skills in dealing with peers in later leadership roles; organizational development skills to build or imagine different instructional and managerial processes in the desegregated school; racism awareness training for the white members; etc. The administrator should be sure to provide the necessary resources so this group can get the training they need in order to do their job well.
4. An extended commitment should be made to provide the necessary resources to ensure success of the program. Without adequate time and funds set aside, it may be better not to start.

5. Regular checking between sessions with individual participants is needed to offer them encouragement and support for their participation, and to hear their complaints before they accumulate to unmanagable proportions.

6. Key administrators should participate in whatever program is developed. Active support from the top represents endorsement and support of the program and serves as a model to everyone else of candor and commitment.

Value Dilemmas and Issues for the Administrator.

1. It is generally not considered "wise" professional practice to have community members and teachers share leadership in working on an "educational" issue such as school desegregation. Be prepared for criticism.

2. The professional staff--teachers--may well become fearful and defensive about collaboration with members of community agencies. Preparation should include dealing with their anxieties, and the even greater anxieties of the rest of the staff who hear second or third hand about the work of this group.

3. Members of community organizations will have a variety of agendas to push in these meetings; some will be relevant and others not. A problem will be encountered in providing free space for people to raise what they want to while at the same time continuing to focus on the group's primary task.

4. Differing definitions of desegregation, as well as different levels of commitment to desegregation as an educational organizing principle, will arise and will lead to heated debate. At times this debate will appear clarifying and functional; at other times it will appear fruitless and depressing.

5. For several of the above reasons, the morale of this group will constantly ride the elevator, and it will often be low and depressive in the face of the sheer difficulty of doing this job well. Many hands will have to be held, including, probably, the administrator's.

6. Whatever plans this group makes continually will have to be related or checked back with other portions of the staff or community. A poor result would be a good plan that no one else will accept. Members of this group will have to be helped to take care not to alienate themselves from the people they represent, and they will have to take steps to insure that their final plan is as unalienative as possible, yet as productive as possible.

"It is important to act upon your own set of educational goals for your students rather than to react passively to crises as they present themselves."

One administrator's notions about where change starts.

"Be sure when a conflict is resolved that your school or system doesn't return to business as usual. It is the chameleon-like capacity of the system to withdraw at the point of pressure, make some temporary consessions and then move back into its original shape that distinguishes the tenacity of a system to retain the status quo. Only through determined vigilance and action can you prevent this from happening. Such action often involves the maintenance of some degree of tension and conflict in order to keep the system flexible and responsive."

Reflections by a veteran administrator on the utilization of conflict.

"I don't think change in education is going to solve all the problems. You know, we're <u>not</u> going to have humane, just and decent schools until the whole society is a lot more humane and just and turns out people who are prepared to live in reasonable ways with one another. But there <u>are</u> things that schools do which seem to me to exacerbate, to highlight, to illuminate, to dramatize and to make heavier the burden of injustice that the society is already set up to include. More important, I think that there are things that the school might do to lighten some of those societal injustices."

From an address by a socially relevant administrator.

VI. Conclusions

In this manual, we have presented analyses of some critical issues underlying contemporary secondary school crises. Our hope has been to help the reader select among just educational goals those action plans that would facilitate positive change.

The administrator is in an ideal position to have a significant impact on public education because of the authority and flexibility that accompany his role. At present, many forces impinge on school administrators which require them to consider acting as agents of change, and not as maintainers of the status quo. Public concerns about schools and their funding are too precarious to allow for the continuation of unjust traditions and institutional patterns. Today's administrator, unprotected for the most part by union security or client support, has his job and health in jeopardy each day he is on the firing line. Reduction of these pressures requires him to re-examine and restructure his role so that he may utilize his time and energy effectively in pursuit of positive educational goals.

Alternative Administrative Roles

A socially responsible administrator has an obligation to guide and oversee more just and humane teaching and learning processes in school. This goes beyond teaching cognitive skills to an education in citizenship and human awareness. It requires clear commitments to an anti-racist education, and one that stresses the liberation of youth from controlling adults and professional elites. It involves an active student body and community system that takes seriously the proposition that local clients of educational services can determine the nature of those services. It also involves a faculty which actively seeks to reduce the patterns of racism and control of youth present in their own professional and cultural training and roles. And it involves everyone being prepared to work for an organization that embodies in its structures, policies and programs the essence of democracy and cultural pluralism. For this agenda to be approached, of course, the

administrator himself must take leadership in emphasizing and modeling such attitudes and behaviors in order to demonstrate his own commitment to staff, students and the community.

There are several distinct roles and arenas for action which the administrator can utilize in the pursuit of these ends.

As the leader and organizer of the professional staff, the principal can break down patterns of prejudice, condescension or over-control which may be present in the faculty. His long range goal should be to recruit, build or retrain and reorganize a staff that is technically skilled and expert in interracial and intergenerational relations, and one which is committed to reducing racism, adult control and professional dominance. This will require his leadership in opening organizational positions and roles so that blacks, whites and browns work together in posts of equal importance. It also requires his encouragement and support of efforts to implement new curricula that reflect these priorities, and new training programs that help all staff members deal with the problems of racism and adult control. If any staff members, after exposure to considerable inservice training and support, are found to be unwilling or unable to implement quality interracial education, he should terminate them before they can do greater damage to students and other staff members.

As an advocate of students, he can work extensively with them to get to know them in ways that bypass traditional role relations and professional norms. He can teach a class in school governance; he can champion and collaborate with student efforts to raise educationally relevant problems or conduct assemblies and public events; he can encourage student inputs and control of a full range of administrative concerns. In all of these efforts he should ensure that the cultural mores and ideals of any one group do not suppress another's. Of course, in any of these efforts there is an anomaly in an adult professional being the advocate of the interests of students. To be sure, it almost sounds like the altruistic expression of the professional who has "the true interests of students at heart." We do not mean by advocacy here that the principal speaks for the students in any way whatsoever. His advocacy may best take the form of insuring that they speak for themselves. Perhaps

he may provide students with access to consultants who can help them understand and articulate their own concerns independent of his efforts. At the point at which an articulate student group presents a position the principal agrees with, he then can articulate and press it as one with which he agrees, and perhaps then form a coalition with students. But he does not become their true advocate; no one can ever advocate for someone else or for some other collectivity.

As a catalyst in the community, the principal can be an active community organizer, developing support for the goals and procedures of quality interracial education. The pattern of the professional ensconced in his office, walled off from the local community must be replaced by a leader of an institution seeking to serve better the unique needs and goals of his community. It stands to reason that a principal who is not part of the community he is serving cannot serve that community well. He will have difficulty knowing community needs, values, leadership patterns, cultural mores, etc. Moreover, it will be difficult for him to be directly accessible to them. We certainly cannot define here what it means to be "part of a community," but any administrator and any community together quickly can assess where they are on that dimension. Active community involvement in influencing and controlling key aspects of the school's life is a crucial aspect of less racist and elitist educational systems. Quite distinct from the case of working with students, however, the principal can be the leader of a community group as well as the catalyst and encourager of their efforts to organize and have influence upon the school.

As a change agent in the school district, the principal can focus some of his efforts on reform of the larger educational environment. For instance, in order to lead effectively a principal should be able to secure support and commitment from the central administration in the form of funds, supplies, teachers and equipment. A wide base of support from other principals in the district makes central administration support more likely, and also provides the principal with collegial advice. When principals work together as a unit they are often able to

achieve certain administrative changes they could never accomplish as individuals. When the principals' group includes a clear commitment to anti-racist work, the principals can help one another explore and manage their own involvement in personal and institutional racism. Similarly, if a principal's group is committed to new forms of student-adult relationships, its members can help one another innovate in less controlled programs for students. But it is unlikely that these norms will be very popular in any group of educational leaders. Therefore, the change-oriented principal should be prepared to act as an advocate with his peers and supervisors and to bypass traditional channels for getting things done when these channels prevent the realization of anti-racist efforts or efforts to increase the potency and autonomy of students in school. He should be willing to help organize and advise student and community groups protesting to the superintendent or the Board of Education; be prepared to go over the head of a resistant supervisor; be comfortable about overruling a teacher or subordinate administrator when they are in the wrong; and be ready to take unjust procedures and actions into a court of law for formal litigation and adjudication.

Some Risks and Hazards of Change Postures

The action plans and roles we have suggested in this manual carry with them risks for the administrator who seeks forthright progress in their behalf. Some of these risks are clearly occupational and economic, others involve social and professional pressure, still others threaten esteem and security. That these risks exist is natural; any change in a plural system is bound to please some and offend others. But it is important to know and state the risks so the change agent is neither naive nor overly fearful regarding fantasies of what might occur as a result of his efforts.

The innovative administrator may face resistance from his supervisors in the Central Administration or the Board of Education. Sanctions from these quarters often are felt to be most severe since many principals feel their tenure and job security stem from these centers of professional power and authority. But many administrators have

discovered almost the reverse, that their tenure and security is more effectively guaranteed by vigorous and adamant student and community support than by administrative support. There are many reported cases of student and community efforts which have been successful in retaining courageous and outspoken educational leaders whom their supervisors wanted to transfer or terminate.

The administrator who moves on an agenda of anti-racism and youth control also can expect to meet resistance from the faculty, and from the system of professional norms that undergird the faculty system. Colleagues in the principal role also may be offended by the same priorities that upset faculty members. But no faculty or group of peers is monolithic, and the wise organizer probably can discover and nurture sources of support for himself within a large faculty. As these forces are supported over time, they may eventually swing the balance of power and commitment within the staff.

Any community or student body is likely to contain a wider set of plural norms than the professional system itself. Therefore, almost any controversial act will find supporters and detractors. In these realms there is no magic; the innovative administrator simply has to look for friends and enemies, and not be deluded into expecting a liberal consensus on the issues.

Each administrator, each person, must consider which risks he is willing to take and which he isn't, which agencies or groups he is willing to fight with and which not. Not every person can take the same risks with the same agencies. Some persons may be willing to risk loss of respect but not loss of income; for others the reverse may be true. Risks taken in the service of one cause will not be taken in the service of another. All too often we judge risk-taking behavior on a single continuum; it is as complex and varying as individuals themselves. What is crucial is that each administrator weigh and assess the goals he pursues and the risks he is willing to take for them. Then he, and others, can decide how to work together.

The change oriented administrator must build around him cadres of persons who can cohere with him in planning changes and yet prepare to reach out to others for later multiplication of resources when

needed. The role and status of different members of a cadre are of lesser importance than their positions on the issues. Obviously the change-oriented administrator must be a political strategist as well as an educator. He must have a keen sense of timing, and an ability for accurate diagnosis of the forces working on him. Ultimately he must care enough about his cause to lay his job on the line. If he does get fired, chances are that he will be sought after for his courage and commitment by other systems looking for good leadership. The risk-taking administrator seeking to serve anti-racist and youth oriented causes may lose often, but the fight does go on and he will always be on demand somewhere.

A Case of School Disruption Continued

We now return to the hypothetical case history discussed in Chapter II. Although we have already reviewed the responses of administrators X and Y we now examine how administrator Z approaches the situation. The general situation presented on page 6 remains constant, but thereafter the plot deviates because administrator Z sees and handles the situation very differently than did his colleagues.

Administrator Z's Response (principal)

Diagnosis.

These incidents may or may not have had a racist basis, but this is a racist institution and it is no small wonder that black students suspect our intentions in these incidents. They have every right to call an emergency meeting during school hours because this is a school-derived crisis for them and should not have to be dealt with after school or out of school. We do discriminate in this school, especially around discipline and many of my staff assume that most fights in this school are provoked by black harassment of whites, in keeping with their stereotypes about blacks. The fact that the black cheerleading candidate was defeated unquestionably derives from the minority status of blacks in this school. It also indicates that few of our white faculty or students are shocked that despite a sizable black population and a team which is distinguished for its black athletes, this school does not have a single black cheerleader. They seem to support their all white cheerleading section but are quite happy to let blacks win their football games for them. They don't get much criticism for this from the coach who thinks much the same

as they do. Unfortunately adults in this school model prejudice for our students, and this latest disciplinary action by our vice principal is just one more instance of feeding into white stereotypes about blacks.

Action Plan.

Meet with the Black Student Union in order to hear their concerns and try to press their interests. My presence there will legitimize their reasons for anger and their right to meet during school time. Use this crisis to call small group meetings and confront the leaders of the school with the racist implications of the suspensions and the cheerleading elections, as well as with numerous other actions and attitudes on the part of white staff and students in this school which are rooted in racism. Further, meet with the Black Community Council to inform them of this latest crisis and to discuss their concerns, once more capitalizing on this issue to legitimize their right as a client group to be informed of what is going on in this school and to play an active role in it. Call a meeting of the School Governance Body, of which the Black Student Union and the Black Community Council are members, to discuss this situation and its policy implications. Insist that this crisis be discussed during class hours as a social problem reflecting personal, institutional and societal racism, which deserves the attention of all school members for its solution. Make this situation Item #1 on staff meeting agenda for this week, as another opportunity for sensitizing my staff to their own racism and the racism of this school. Moreover, raise the issues of adult-youth relations in the context of questioning why it is the faculty that selects cheerleaders.

Analysis of Responses by Administrator Z.

ITEM: This is a racist institution.

A major impediment to the elimination of racism is the denial that it exists. A necessary but not sufficient step for its reduction is the acceptance of its existance in all institutions of our society including our schools.

ITEM: They have every right to call an emergency meeting during school hours because this is a school-derived crisis for them.

It is ironic that in most cases students are forced to deal with their school-derived concerns out of school rather than in school, as though it were not a legitimate part of their learning nor rights as clients to grapple with the institution in which they spend a large part of their lives. Special privilege--the right to in-school meetings for

a black student organization--is seen as appropriate by those administrators who feel the inequities of institutional racism justify it; undoubtedly it will be seen as inappropriate by those administrators who wish to retain the status quo by "keeping everything equal."

ITEM: Capitalizing on this issue to legitimize their (the Black Community Council) right as a client group to be informed of what is going on in this school and to play an active role in it.

Blacks are rarely considered a legitimate client group to which the school must be accountable, and at most are responded to individually only if they come in to complain. This administrator recognizes the critical importance of an organized black community acting as a continual pressure on the school system for change. There is strength in numbers, strength which is decimated when blacks are responded to on an individual basis only.

ITEM: Call a meeting of the School Governance Body... to discuss this situation and its policy implications.

Too often a school governance body deals only with mechanistic or peripheral issues and thus becomes relatively insignificant in the long run for changing the school climate. Administrator Z refuses to allow this to happen and plans to utilize the formal policy making body in the school as a legislator of justice as well.

ITEM: Unfortunately adults in this school model prejudice for our students.

This is true in school and society and highlights the necessity for raising the awareness of whites to a level where they can understand racism in their own behavior and racist practices in our institutions. Administrator Z makes consciousness-raising a top priority for his staff and students.

ITEM: Insist that this crisis be discussed during class hours.

Too frequently the life of the school--its interpersonal relationships, its rules and policies, its conflicts and crises--is not seen as

legitimate subject matter of the curriculum and is rejected as learning material. Instead it should be a focal point for exploration, inquiry and problem solving.

ITEM: Why it is the faculty that selects cheerleaders.

Regardless of the racism involved in the cheerleader situation, the degree of adult control reflected in this selection process also requires attention.

Consequences of These Responses to Administrator Z and His School.

Administrator Z has demonstrated a concern for accountability to the black students and community which may be attacked by the white faculty, subordinates and community. At the same time, he has demonstrated a concern for the white staff and students, in wishing to sensitize them to the racism of school and society so that they might become better citizens. His insistence on making this and other crises a top priority for discussion in classrooms and staff meetings may result in learnings which otherwise might not occur. At the same time it may reinforce the resistance many whites feel to examining their own biases.

By bringing this matter to the attention of the Black Community Council and the School Governance Body, Administrator Z is making the matter very public. He probably is generating more attention and more overt conflict than if he had tried to hush it up after meeting with the Black Student Union. Administrator Z must have a strong stomach for confrontation, however, and may have assessed the potential payoffs as being stronger than the risks.

For the reader:

What other consequences might result from Administrator Z's behavior? How might the faculty react when he raises these issues at their staff meeting? How might his supervisors react? Do you see any of yourself in these assumptions and reactions?

A number of strategic questions enter into the action plans of Administrator Z who is change-oriented and willing to utilize a crisis as leverage for reform. This should be considered at all times by administrators who seek to bring about change in his school. They are:

1. Diagnosis and analysis of the issues underlying the current situation, and the various groups involved in it.
2. Exploration and clarification of his own values and goals regarding quality education.
3. Clarification of the nature of his accountability and responsibility to his clients or constituency. It is important for the administrator to know who his clients/constituents are, and the ways in which he is accountable/responsible to them.
4. Planning the change program or the action plan in response to the issues in the local situation.
5. Assessing carefully the resources needed to carry off such change. Included in resource assessment is one's own risk level.
6. Making strategic decisions about what battles should be fought when, on what turf, in the open or covertly, etc. Here is where sound strategic wisdom is required in addition to organizing skills and a commitment to new educational forms.

To the extent that an administrator can ask and answer such questions he probably can carry off a successful change program in the school.

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